Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Gorbachev Greets Nuclear Test Ban Conference

PM0901095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Message from President Mikhail Gorbachev to Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Conference participants: "To the Participants in the Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Conference"]

[Text] I greet your conference and take advantage of this opportunity to restate the Soviet Union's invariable course toward the earliest achievement of a complete ban on nuclear tests as the most important step toward a world without nuclear weapons. I confirm our readiness to end our nuclear tests at any time if the United States does the same. We are ready to adopt the amendment to the 1963 treaty turning the restrictions contained in it into an all-embracing ban. We urge other countries to support this long-needed solution.

I wish the conference success in its work in the interests of the world community and of peace on earth.

[signed] M. Gorbachev

TASS Reports UN Report on Nuclear Test Ban

LD1001091491 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 10 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations January 10 TASS—The United Nations on Wednesday issued a report here on the universal prohibition of nuclear tests. The report was compiled by the international foundation, which includes scholars from the United States, the USSR, Germany, France, Canada, China, Sweden and some other countries.

It was timed to coincide with the present U.N. conference examining amendments to the treaty banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

The report contains conclusions by researchers and specialists, working on the improvement of nuclear weapons, on the possibility of signing a treaty on the universal prohibition of nuclear tests by 1995.

Scientists believe that neither American nor Soviet national security would be at risk if one of the countries declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests before 1995. The moratorium could improve the political atmosphere contributing to an agreement on the universal prohibition of nuclear tests, the report says.

However, this conclusion was not backed by all scientists and specialists in nuclear weapons, who have discussed this issue at Soviet-American seminars over the past few years, the report notes.

The report says that there are five main reasons to ban nuclear tests. The ban would slash military spending. Each Soviet nuclear test costs about 20 million roubles, which is enough to pay annual salaries to 10,000 Soviet employees.

U.S. costs, including research, development and the detonation of a nuclear explosion, amount to 160 million dollars. This is enough to provide housing for over 3,000 homeless families, the document notes.

The ban on nuclear tests would end the dangerous rivalry in developing new nuclear weapons. However, it would weaken the stability between the USSR and the United States in the nuclear sphere, requiring additional outlays to prevent such consequences.

An end to nuclear tests would strengthen the legality of the nuclear non-proliferation regime during the critical time until 1995, when the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is to be extended, and would limit research in nuclear threshold countries.

In addition, the ban on nuclear explosions would eliminate a source of environmental pollution.

However, some researchers argued against a complete prohibition of nuclear tests, citing the "imaginary need" to develop new nuclear warheads and produce warheads for more reliable nuclear weapons.

They note that nuclear tests are also necessary to check the dependability of existing systems and raise their safety, including their unauthorised use. Tests are also used to check the reliability of nuclear equipment under conditions in which mass destruction weapons could be used.

It is also possible to use nuclear explosions for various engineering projects. Nevertheless, other specialists believe that the above tasks, apart from the first and the last ones, can be accomplished without nuclear explosions.

The report explores both pros and cons and contains numerous technicalities concerning control over the complete prohibition of nuclear tests.

The document notes that if the United States and the USSR believe it is possible to fully stop nuclear tests by 1995, appropriate technical preparations should be started now.

Parliamentarians Urge Total Ban on Nuclear Tests

LD0901163491 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations January 9 TASS—The Parliamentarians for Global Action organisation called for a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapon testing here on Tuesday.

Representatives of this organisation handed over to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar a petition signed by more than 2,000 parliamentarians from more than 40 countries, Iceland's Finance Minister Olafur Grimmson told a news conference in New York. They represent different parties, but are at one in demanding an end to all nuclear tests.

The conference, which is now considering amendments to the nuclear weapon test ban treaty at U.N. headquarters, is a unique international body created mainly as a result of demands by parliamentarians of many countries.

"On the whole, the role played by parliamentarians in today's world is growing," Grimsson said. "I believe that if the present conference fails to achieve practical results, the conference must be made a body which will periodically renew its work to draw the attention of the world community to this vital problem."

"I represent Utah in the U.S. Congress," Congressman Wayne Owens said. "My state neighbours on Nevada and we have felt the grave consequences of nuclear tests conducted there in full measure. Utah residents are suffering from cancer and other grave diseases. An understanding of the need to reconsider the administration's policy in this field is growing both in the Congress and among the broad masses of the population."

Participants in the news conference acclaimed the USSR's stance in support of the comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon testing. Soviet poet Olzhas Suleymenov, representing Soviet parliamentarians in this international organisation, noted that the Soviet Union was ready to sign a treaty on this issue. This approach is shared by the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, he stressed.

Chernyshev Views Nuclear Test Ban Conference

LD0901233191 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—An international conference opened at U.N. headquarters today to consider amendments to the treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. It is already clear that most delegations are determined to work towards a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Few delegations, above all that from the United States, are acting under different instructions.

Five years ago, six member-countries of the Non-Aligned Movement proposed amendments to the 1963 treaty which would turn it into a treaty of a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests.

Political conditions did not appear ripe enough at that time for the proposals to be approved. But the present situation in the world is most favourable for pushing towards the complete ban on tests in all spheres.

The world community has acclaimed the efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to reduce their nuclear arsenals. They have concluded and are implementing the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty and are now moving towards the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons and toward the beginning after that of negotiations on battle-field nuclear weapons.

In his greetings to the present conference, President Mikhail Gorbachev pledged the immutability of the Soviet Union's foreign policy aiming at a prompt achievement of a complete ban on nuclear tests as a major step on the road to a nuclear-free world. He reiterated the Soviet Union's readiness to stop nuclear testing as soon as the United States agrees to the similar move. The USSR has also expressed readiness to approve amendments to the 1963 treaty in order to turn restrictions it formulates into a comprehensive ban.

A complete ban on nuclear tests would put up a barrier on the way of proliferation of deadly nuclear weapons, prevent the creation of new generation of nuclear arms and contribute to curtailing the arms race.

It is no secret to anyone that continued tests by the nuclear club members encourage countries which are on the verge of acquiring their own nuclear potential to push on in this direction. A comprehensive ban on tests would lessen the whole world's discontent with the powers which have nuclear arms at their disposal and continue testing ever new nuclear weapons.

In 1995, the countries which signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, will have to decide on the prolongation of the treaty for a definite or an indefinite term.

It looks strange in this context that the United States, which has expressed concern over the nuclear weapon proliferation and interest in the long-term prolongation of the treaty, continues to display an irreconcilable approach to a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Gulf

LD0901195591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1827 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—We are transmitting a USSR Foreign Ministry statement:

"Within the framework of the dialogue with European countries on ways to unblock the Persian Gulf crisis by political means Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, has had meetings with Klaus Blech, the FRG ambassador; Michael Richard Bell, the Canadian ambassador; Fedinando Salleo, the Italian ambassador; and Dagfinn Stenseth, the Norwegian ambassador. The exchange of views made it possible to hold an in-depth discussion on the latest developments with regard to the crisis and on details and approaches to the fulfillment of the UN Security Council resolutions on eliminating the exceptionally grave and explosive hotbed of tension that has been brought about by the aggression against Kuwait.

The contacts that have taken place confirm a broad understanding of the need to make maximum efforts in strict accordance with the UN Charter in the remaining minimal time before the end of the good-will pause to defuse the crisis and to prevent its escalation into a large-scale military clash. In this context considerable attention was paid to the European Community's proposal which envisages the granting of security guarantees to Iraq, provided, of course, that its troops are unconditionally withdrawn from Kuwait and that the norms of international legality are observed. Proceeding on the basis of its line of actively encouraging the quest for a peaceful solution, the Soviet side expressed the view that it would be possible—and desirable—for such guarantees to be provided by the UN Security Council. The Soviet Union gave a positive assessment of the latest initiative by Nordic countries, which envisages the sending of UN peace-keeping forces to Kuwait after the withdrawal of Iraqi forces, and also indicated the importance of utilizing the entire potential of that organization in the creation of a situation of lasting peace in the area."

Iraqi Withdrawal Said 'Impossible' by Deadline

LD0901123191 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Soviet political scientist Nodari Simonia said that today's meeting in Geneva between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz was the last chance for President Saddam Husayn to agree to withdraw troops from Kuwait.

A deputy director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, Simonia told TASS that Saddam Husayn has let slip all other chances given to him by the international community. The Iraqi leadership's statements and actions up to the present have shown that Baghdad is getting ready for war and does everything to further complicate matters relating to its withdrawal from the neighbouring country.

Simonia recalled that Iraq was strengthening its positions in the occupied country and reinforcing its troops there, as well as drafting new conscripts to its Armed Forces and raising pay to servicemen.

In other words, Iraq "is doing everything which is usually done when getting ready to begin war overnight". The Soviet political scientist said it was practically impossible to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait in time for the deadline set by the international community in accordance with the U.N. Security Council resolution. However, he did not rule out the possibility for Baghdad, seeking to split the anti-Iraqi alliance between the United States and Western Europe, which is determined to press for a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis, to announce its readiness to begin the withdrawal of troops at the very last moment.

Simonia believes that the U.S. Administration, inclined to seek a peaceful solution to the crisis in principle, is nevertheless ready to use military action.

"It is not important whether the U.S. Administration puts it in words. I proceed from actual conditions and desires. From the purely pragmatic view point, this is the best way out of the situation for the United States today," Simonia said.

He stressed that while time favoured Americans earlier, when they needed to concentrate forces in the region, in the second half of January the situation will be reversed.

Asked how the Gulf crisis was linked to the solution of the Arab- Israeli conflict, Simonia said the Gulf crisis caused serious shifts in the desire of the West European community and the sober minded politicians in the USA and the rest of the world for a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East issue.

"I think that the U.S. Administration is now ripe to understand that the linkage inadmissible from the point of view of tactics does exist on the strategic plane. In other words, it is impossible to directly link the solution of the Gulf crisis to the Middle East settlement, but I am sure that the next day after the Kuwaiti question is resolved, serious negotiation processes are bound to begin, aiming to resolve the Arab-Israeli problem. The confrontation of these two forces is the nutrient medium which is giving and will be giving rise to all conflicts in this region."

'Slim' Chance for Gulf Political Settlement Noted

LD0901225991 Moscow World Service in English 2210 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The meeting between the American secretary of state, James Baker, and the Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, ended in Geneva Wednesday night. Our correspondent reports that the talks seem more like a marathon. The negotiations lasted for six hours. Throughout the day the armada of journalists gathered in Geneva in

constant tension. No wonder, because the outcome of the American-Iraqi dialogue largely determines how events in the Persian Gulf will develop. The question is whether a devastating war breaks out there or if there is still a chance to settle the affair peacefully.

The meeting between Mr. Baker and Mr. 'Aziz took place just six days before the 15 January deadline set by the UN Security Council for a total withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Speaking at a news conference at the Intercontinental Hotel, Mr. Baker said his meeting with Mr. 'Aziz had produced no positive results. Baghdad still refuses to comply with the UN resolutions. Mr. Baker said he heard nothing from his opposite number that would suggest that Iraq intends to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. He noted that Iraq showed no flexibility at all. At the same time, he stressed that it is still possible to avoid an armed conflict, although the deadline is drawing nearer. It's time for Iraq to adopt concrete measures to pull its troops out of Kuwait, said James Baker.

Speaking at a news conference the Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, recalled that he arrived in Geneva for a goodwill mission. He flatly rejected Mr. Baker's statement that Iraq allegedly underestimates the situation. In the Iraqi minister's view, the very meeting was serious and this arouses satisfaction. However, Mr. 'Aziz noted they were much at odds over the issues under discussion. He made it clear that Iraq still insisted on linking a settlement in the Gulf to a solution to the Middle East problems as a whole, above all the Palestinian issue. The Iraqi minister also charged the United States with backing up Israel, threatening peace and security in the region.

Observers in Geneva noted that following the American-Iraqi talks, chances for a political settlement in the Persian Gulf are slim. At the same time, they do not doubt that intensive diplomatic efforts will continue until 15 January in a bid to settle the crisis by peaceful means.

U.S. Failure To Consult on 'Aziz Talks Noted

LD0901154191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1354 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I am constantly thinking that it is not just our radio listeners and us, journalists, who have to wait in passive ignorance to see how events will develop. I am afraid that it is also our Foreign Ministry that found itself in this unpleasant position—it was certainly not its fault. What do I have in mind? Yesterday, on the eve of meeting 'Aziz, Baker visited a number of Western European countries, and had talks with their leaders. I have no doubt that he was setting out the United States position over these critical days. [passage omitted]

Baker, in all probability, also spoke of what he intends to say to 'Aziz, and probably of the United States's possible further steps. In my view, one can not just shrug off the fact that Baker failed to meet our foreign minister in this—to say it again—critical period. When Iraq attacked Kuwait, Baker broke off the first visit to Ulaanbaatar in the history of U.S.-Mongolian relations, and hurriedly went to Moscow to meet Shevardnadze. Over the past months the ministers met repeatedly, and we were constantly kept abreast of all the action of the U.S. Administration in the Persian Gulf zone and around the crisis. We were consulted and our advice was sought because we were seen as a solid partner.

One must not forget that the prestige of the head of state and of the foreign minister is something that belongs to the whole of the country—it is our common capital. Let me add that in the present situation it is almost the only one. And now, as the attacks on Shevardnadze assumed such an unceremonious nature that he resigned. I would like us all to stop and reflect: What point have we reached; what have we attained? I may be mistaken, and would very much like to be mistaken, but it is my view that Baker's failure to consult our foreign minister on the eve of the most important decisions reflects something more than just a recognition of Shevardnadze's resignation.

I am again ready to make the proviso that I will be glad to be mistaken, but we are becoming uninteresting for the United States. Having been an active participant in the world process, we are turning out in the role of a passive observer on the side. For five years we have had an active foreign policy, which facilitated not only changes in the world, but also the cardinal strengthening of our security. This policy was linked with two names: Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. Now Shevardnadze will no long be there, and here is the first signal: Baker can do without us. So maybe at least this will teach us that destroying something that is positive will not lead to anything good.

Ministry Protests U.S. Detention of Soviet Vessel

LD0801170191 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 8 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Oleg Polovko, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The Soviet Union regards the incident with the "Dmitry Furmanov" vessel in the Red Sea, which was detained and searched by the U.S. and Spanish Navies, as "acts aimed against the commercial activity of the Soviet Merchant Fleet". The Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Ministry said in a statement distributed at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today.

The statement points out that on January 4, 1991 the Spanish and U.S. Navies detained the Soviet motor vessel "Dmitry Furmanov" in the Red Sea en route for the Jordanian port of Aqaba.

All the cargo on board the vessel had properly issued invoices. The destination was the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The vessel carried a total of 106 tons of spare parts and accessories with military applications for the

Jordanian Armed Forces, supplied by the Soviet Union under inter-governmental agreements.

The vessel administration, fulfilling the U.N. Security Council resolutions, allowed representatives of the U.S. and Spanish Navies to board the vessel unimpeded and to check the cargo in all holds. Although the inspection did not reveal undeclared cargo aboard the vessel, the Soviet captain was forbidden to proceed to Aqaba.

As of today, January 8, the statement "continues, the vessel is still in the Red Sea under the surveillance of U.S. and Spanish vessels. [no ending quotation mark as received] Thus, "despite the fact that the American side has recently recognised that its actions viz-a-viz the 'Nkolay Savitskiy' vessel were incompetent, it again attempts to question the actions of the Soviet side as regards compliance with the requirements of U.N. Resolution 661".

"The Soviet side," the statement points out, "is authorised to declare again that neither the cargo on board the vessel nor the route of the vessel violated the provisions of the resolution and regards this incident as an action aimed against the commercial activities of the Soviet Merchant Fleet".

Churkin Holds Briefing on Gulf, Summit

LD0901131491 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Igor Peskov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Soviet Ambassador to Iraq Viktor Posuvalyuk on Tuesday conveyed to President Saddam Husayn of Iraq a message from the Soviet leadership on the Soviet Union's continuing efforts to ensure the peaceful solution of the Gulf crisis in accordance with the U.N. Security Council resolutions. This statement was made here by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin at a briefing.

On the same evening, he said, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov met U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock to discuss diplomatic contacts on the Gulf problem.

Asked by journalists about U.S. statements on the possible postponement of the Soviet-U.S. summit, Churkin replied: "There is firm agreement between the Soviet leadership and the U.S. Administration that the meeting will take place at the agreed time, on February 11-13.

"We cannot see any reasons why it should be postponed. We are actively preparing for the meeting. A whole package of agreements could be signed at it, the central being the start treaty.

"In general, the remaining issues at the START talks are purely technical and, given proper interaction, work on the treaty could be finished before the summit. To this end, we proposed to the American side some time ago to convene a special meeting in Geneva at the level of deputy foreign ministers."

Roundup of Presidential Spokesman's 8 Jan Briefing

LD0801163191 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—Soviet Presidential Spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko spoke about President Mikhail Gorbachev's schedule for the next few days.

Today, Gorbachev met Russian President Boris Yeltsin to discuss the union budget for 1991. Hopefully, the two will resolve budgetary problems, Ignatenko said.

The Soviet side actively promoted the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, he said.

Asked what hopes Gorbachev pinned on the meeting, Ignatenko said the Soviet leadership wanted to exhaust every opportunity in search for a peace settlement in the Gulf.

However, chances for a peace settlement are dwindling, he said.

A solution is possible only if the Iraqi president realises that the threat of military action against him is "very real", Ignatenko said.

The Soviet leadership has not changed its support for United Nations Security Council resolutions.

"There is no reason to review the deadline set by the Security Council for the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait," he said.

Ignatenko denied reports from Washington about a possible postponement of a Soviet-American summit scheduled for February 11.

The Soviet side is seriously preparing for the meeting and gave no signals about a postponement, he said, hoping that the meeting will be held as scheduled.

Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama is expected to visit the Soviet Union somewhere around January 20, he is expected to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev on January 23 to discuss Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan this year.

Today Gorbachev was scheduled to meet Dupont President, Chairman of the World Jewish Congress Edgar Bronfman, Ignatenko said.

The two will discuss Dupont's consultation and technical assistance to the Soviet Union and immigration from the USSR, he said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Cuban Trade Talks

FL0501002691 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2051 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesperson Vitaliy Churkin today commented on the results of Soviet-Cuban negotiations on trade and economic cooperation in 1991.

Churkin said the documents that were signed are structured on the same scope of bilateral cooperation in keeping with the current realities and the serious nature of the situation in the two countries.

Churkin stated that it is expected that as of January there will be a switch to settlements and payments in freely convertible currency and trade at current prices on commodities and services on the main world markets.

Churkin added that the USSR and Cuba will promote the development of new forms of cooperation, including direct links, joint ventures, the promotion of specialisation, and co-production.

Petrovskiy Interviewed on United Nations

LD0801163891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1140 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy by Moscow Radio foreign political commentator Vladimir Pasko on the role of the United Nations; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pasko] Vladimir Fedorovich, an anniversary is always an occasion to look at what is happening now, and as applied to the United Nations it seems to me that this is particularly interesting, given that the organization is going through a very important period: the cold war is over, and the world is entering the post-confrontation period. I would say that this was very clearly reflected at the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, which has just ended.

[Petrovskiy] Indeed, I would say that this year's 45th session of the UN General Assembly occupies a special place in the history of the organization. This was the first session held under conditions of the ending of the cold war—that is, the first post-confrontation session of the organization. There are two features that stood out as very characteristic of the session. The first is that under conditions of the ending of the cold war, there is considerable broadening in the range of cooperation available to states. The second is that the central role in maintaining peace through multilateral mechanisms, first and foremost by the United Nations itself, was highlighted. The session showed that the period of unilateral, arbitrary actions on the international scene, actions that endanger international stability, is now passing away. [passage omitted]

It so happened that this session took place under conditions of the acute crisis in the Persian Gulf—the first crisis in the period following the cold war. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adhered strictly to the principle that to settle this conflict it is necessary to base actions on juridical foundations, to act in a constitutional way—in other words, in accordance with the UN Charter. The session showed that it saw the Persian Gulf conflict as a precedent for settling all other crisis situations, including that in the Middle East, on a new post-confrontational basis, in accordance with the UN Charter. If that standard is complied with in relation to the Persian Gulf—if the United Nations acts in accordance with its charter, without any kind of dual standards, without any kind of concessions to the aggressor—then this will create a precedent for resolving, on a new basis and without dual standards, other problems too, primarily the Arab- Israeli conflict, the whole crux of the Palestinian problem, as well as problems connected with the proliferation of the arms race. In other words, the 45th session has been a session which has to a certain extent formed new approaches, and permitted the United Nations finally to being to act within the framework of law, within the framework of the UN Charter.

[Pasko] Vladimir Fedorovich, it is quite clear that under the new conditions the United Nations cannot remain as it was during the cold war period. At the 45th session we submitted our vision of the role of the United Nations in the post-confrontation period. How was our memorandum received?

[Petrovskiy] [passage omitted] There naturally arises the question that since the United Nations was set up 45 years have passed, and many of the mechanisms that were created are not wholly up to coping with existing realities. One can start by mentioning that the world community is today acutely conscious of the fact that alongside the nuclear threat, there also exists the ecological threat, yet the UN system does not include an appropriate body to deal with these problems. Suggestions are beginning to be heard that the membership of the Security Council also needs to be changed, so that it might permanently include united Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil.

All this talk of the need to bring the structures into line with existing realities undoubtedly has some basis, but it needs to be borne in mind also that reviewing the structures of the United Nations is tied up with changes to the Charter. This is something the UN member countries do not want at a time of tempestuous change in international life. In our memorandum we put forward very specific ideas about how many of these realities could be reflected within the framework of the Charter in force today—that is, at the present stage when the international comunity is not ready to make changes. Take, for instance, the Security Council. There is indeed a need for a very large number of states to participate on a permanent basis. We consider it is fully possible to do this today, within the framework of the existing juridical arrangements, without changing the Charter. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] Vladimir Fedorovich, what degree of convergence is there between our views of the role of the United

Nations under the new conditions and those of other permanent members of the Security Council—in particular the United States—for it is no secret that the degree of accord between the USSR and the United States exerts enormous influence on the way certain issues are resolved?

[Petrovskiy] I would say that for the first time in the whole history of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and the United States—at the level of their foreign ministers—have adopted a document entitled Responsibility for Peace and Security in a Changing World. This document offers the formulation of a joint desire to develop cooperation and partnership with all other UN member states. The Soviet Union and the United States agreed on the need first to increase UN efforts in questions concerning the maintenance of international peace and security—and in this they see a special role for the Security Council as the main statutory body in the military and political sphere. Second, they agreed on the need to affirm in the United Nations a new sense of responsibility, in moving from rhetoric of various kinds to specific efforts for dealing in practical ways with the main tasks. These include, alongside the traditional problems the organization has faced, those of terrorism and of safeguarding human rights. They also include problems of combatting drugs trafficking. We also agreed to act to improve the way the United Nations functions, and to eliminate the very many duplicate programs.

So this is concrete evidence of a new approach and a new attitude to the United Nations, and I can add that we have now developed a mechanism of permanent consultations on these issues. I believe that the question of the United Nations will also have its place at the forthcoming meeting in Moscow between President Gorbachev and President Bush, and following that meeting we intend to hold special consultations in Washington regarding our further joint action in the United Nations. [passage omitted]

Czechoslovak Official Views Moscow CEMA Talks

LD0401202991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] The 134th CEMA Executive Committee session began today in Moscow. The session is a historic one because it is the last in its present form. Jan Smihula, our correspondent in the Soviet Union, interviewed Vladimir Dlouhy, the federal minister of economic affairs, and asked him first about the destiny of the organization:

[Begin recording] [Dlouhy] It is, indeed, true that the representatives of the CEMA countries have agreed to terminate the activity of the CEMA in its current form. This will be done by the heads of government, who are expected to meet in Budapest some time at the end of February or the beginning of March. At the same time, however, those government prime ministers will set up a new organization, the International Economic Cooperation Organization, which will truly be a new organization. The view was reached that for the countries of central and eastern Europe it would be a good thing in political and economic terms to have—for a certain transitional period, and in my view it will be a transitional one—economic integration, which would help those countries in the east, so to speak, to tackle their economic and trade problems, both in a bilateral context and if necessary, if this turns out to be desirable, at the level of multilateral cooperation.

The strategy of not only our country but also of the other countries of central and eastern Europe is, over the coming decade, to become involved in all-European or, today, the West European integration processes, primarily the European Community. It is evident that the statute of the new organization which will follow the CEMA, envisages this; more or less all the countries are saying this quite openly. Its basic aim is to link itself into the European Communities; and neither is short-term or temporary participation in further regional integrations, such as the Pentagonale, ruled out. The new statute basically defines an organization which will be relatively small, will have a mainly informative role, perhaps a statistical role, and will help to tackle any problems which might arise.

[Smihula, in Slovak] I know that yesterday you also met Stepan Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters. You held further talks with him this morning, but I do not know the subject of those talks. Can you tell me, Mr. Minister?

[Dloughy] Yes, I did meet Mr. Sitaryan, who is basically the leading Soviet economist, and we discussed the CEMA and also bilateral matters, and specifically our favorite issue, that of the supply of oil to Czechoslovakia. In the short term this was a case of supplies for the month of January, and I am quite pleased to say that it appears that the supplies for January wil be at a level which, on the one hand, our enterprises will be able to pay for—let us remember that this is the conditions of convertibility when there must simply be enough korunas to puchase convertible currency, with which the oil is then bought—and on the other hand these supplies will be of sufficient volume to enable standard production, which depends on oil imports, to be guaranteed.

[Smihula] Can you tell us how much?

[Dlouhy] No, I cannot, but I can tell you that according to my information, the deputy director of the Chemapol foreign trade enterprise is due to go to Moscow on Monday [7 January] to agree on the final volume. [end recording]

United States & Canada

Summit Delay Said Not To Harm U.S. Partnership

LD0901135591 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Where and when will the next Soviet-American summit be held? We now have notes from our commentator, Yuriy Solton:

Until recently, the issue was settled. There is an accord the summit will be held in Moscow between 11 and 13 February, but there is no longer such certainty. The White House has announced quite unexpectedly that the time of the summit might be postponed due to the Persian Gulf crisis. Another reason is the fact that the treaty to reduce strategic offensive armaments has not been completed, and also there is a need to thoroughly verify the data granted by the Soviet side on the conventional armaments on which a Soviet-American agreement is likewise being prepared.

I could also add another dozen reasons for the delay, but I do not think that Washington and Moscow are interested in it. I have no doubt that the summit will be held, and that the Soviet-American partnership, that has such a favorable effect on the world affairs, will not be disrupted. Major preparations are underway for important accords to be reached at the summit. Whatever the developments in the Persian Gulf, whether they move towards war or towards peace, the situation in the region requires a frank conversation between the two presidents. Moscow sees no special obstacles to completing work on the treaty on strategic offensive armaments. The treaty is practically ready, and the remaining technical problems can be very well solved.

True, there is a lag on the schedule of the Soviet-American talks on conventional armaments, but there is no reason to believe that the military diplomats will not be able to prepare the draft agreement on time. But even if this does not happen, the Soviet Union does not make any linkage between a reduction in conventional armaments and the treaty on strategic weapons, which is not the main one. I do not know the real reasons that have compelled the White House to announce the possible delay on this summit, but I am sure a delay would create an unfavorable impression in the world. In the currently complex situation, the conduct of the two powers is being closely observed. Even a hint that a return to uncertainty in their relation is received painfully. [as received]

A Soviet presidential aide, Vitaliy Ignatenko, told reporters Moscow has given no signals to putting off the Soviet-American summit, and is not going to do so. In particular, Mr. Ignatenko aid that he has already arranged for a dinner party at his home on 11th February with the White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. How can we not go ahead with this arrangement? We, to, hope that the arrangement takes place.

U.S. Statement on Baltics Called 'Interference'

LD0901174591 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater made a statement on Tuesday on the situation in the USSR which can only be regarded as an unconcealed attempt at interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, an attempt to interpret in its own way the enforcement of internal legislation on Soviet territory.

Commenting on the Soviet Defence Ministry's additional measures to fulfill the Soviet president's decree of December 1, 1990, "on some acts on defence issues endorsed in Union republics", the White House spokesman described as "provocative and counterproductive" the decision of Soviet military authorities to send paratroop units to Baltic republics to help military commissariats enforce the draft.

Is this to suggest that national laws, including the USSR Constitution, should not be fulfilled in the Soviet Union, or that Soviet citizens should disregard their civil obligations, as defined by the country's main law?

In my view, we can already see today what failure to observe law and order in the country may lead to. Why then add fuel to a serious situation in the USSR?

The U.S. has a special position with regard to the entry of Baltic Republics into the Soviet state. We admit that there can be different points of view on this issue. The essence of the current statement by the White House representative, its tone and character, however, cannot be regarded other than direct interference in Soviet affairs, which is a manifestation of old thinking that is being increasingly discarded by the world community today.

Near East & South Asia

Reports Continue on Evacuations From Iraq

Emergency Plan For Experts Noted

LD1001105491 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 10 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The last group of Soviet citizens to be evacuated from Iraq, 82 people, returned home last night, the Soviet Foreign Ministry told TASS.

A total of 290 Soviet citizens decided to remain in Iraq to ensure the functioning of Soviet institutions. This number includes 152 specialists left to mothball and preserve equipment.

January 15 is the deadline set by the U.N. Security Council resolution for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. Talks between U.S. secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, held in Geneva on January 9, did not change the situation. The threat of war is looming large over the Gulf. Although some news analysts believe that there is still hope for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the risk of military confrontation is increasing, as Iraq toughens its irreconcilable stance and refuses to comply with the U.N. Security Council resolution on its unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

The Soviet Government is making every effort to ensure security of Soviet citizens in Iraq. Soviet specialists are in a safe place, located far from military and industrial facilities. An evacuation plan has been drafted in the event of hostilities.

Process 'Virtually Completed'

PM1001130391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by G. Deyev under the general heading: "Persian Gulf: While Guns Remain Silent"]

[Text] Moscow—A USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman told IZVESTIYA's correspondent:

"A further 186 Soviet specialists have returned to Moscow from Iraq on a scheduled Aeroflot flight. As of 8 January, 354 of our citizens were in Iraq. The evacuation process will be virtually completed 9 January, when the last group of Soviet specialists to be evacuated will arrive in the USSR on an Aeroflot flight. Approximately 150 people will remain in Iraq on a voluntary basis to ensure supervision of the equipment and other property being left at several major Soviet-Iraqi cooperation projects. The number of staffers at the embassy and in other Soviet establishments in Iraq is also being reduced."

Crisis' Impact on Gulf States Examined

PM0901140991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7

[Report by special correspondent Yu. Glukhov: "Persian Gulf: What Will 'K Day' Bring?"]

[Text] Doha, January—One after another the "Phantoms" take off. It is as if they are coming off a conveyor belt, roaring past the windows of our hotel in Doha, the capital of Qatar. It lies on the very shore of the Persian Gulf. The "Phantoms," bearing U.S. markings, are on patrol, controlling the airspace in the zone of the conflict that has arisen in connection with Iraq's seizure of Kuwait.

The Arabian winter sun has a summer warmth to it. The palms sway in the wind. The sea caresses the shore. The odd jogger passes by. The only thing that seems to spoil this tranquil, almost idyllic scene is the thunder of the passing aircraft, instilling a sense of alarm.

The sense of alarm is growing as 15 January approaches—this is the date when the UN Security Council has decided force can be used against Iraq as violator of the international order. The press is already calling it "K Day"—"Kuwait Day."

The sense of impending military catastrophe is intensified by the continuing unprecedented massing of forces. Iraq has assembled a military strike force of 700,000 soldiers. Even 17-year-olds have been called up. The aggressor faces allied formations from around 30 countries, assembled under the banner of implementing the UN Security Council decisions. They number more than 500,000, most of them Americans.

There are thousands of tanks, aircraft, missiles, and guns in the area. Baghdad's periodic statements threatening the use of chemical and biological weapons and a first strike against Israel exacerbate the situation even further.

Military preparations are taking place along the entire border with Iraq. NATO squadrons are being transferred to Turkey. Iran has announced that extensive maneuvers will start on 11 January near the border with Iraq. According to a Tehran radio report, their purpose is to "counter a possible threat."

Air raid drills are taking place in Saudi Arabia. Evacuation plans are being tried out in Baghdad. On New Year's Eve power was switched off and the city was blacked out.

Specific "physical efficiency standards" have even been introduced for my American colleagues covering events in the Persian Gulf. Strict norms have been set for four age categories. To pass the endurance test, a journalist who is a little over 30 has to perform 38 sit-ups and 33 push-ups. He is given two minutes to perform each series of exercises and 15.5 minutes to cover a distance of approximately 2.5 kilometers.

Although the guns remain silent, war is in the air, and the propaganda war has been going on for a long time. The Americans have a nickname for Baghdad's Voice of Peace radio station—"Betty."

"Betty" is not exactly kind to her listeners and does not mince words. "The few who survive," she says, "will lose their minds. They will emerge from the inferno of war to tell future generations what they have lost as a result of bellicosity, false pride, and sheer ignorance. They will emerge with mortal wounds, a defeated army, with allies who have lost their thrones and agents who have lost their heads.... The Zionist entity (the name for Israel—Yu. Glukhov) will get its just deserts."

In turn the Pentagon, as well as the usual radio broadcasts and distribution of leaflets, is trying to use the

doctrines of the Muslim religion to demoralize Iraqi troops. What it is banking on is the ethnic disunity of Iraqi society and fatigue as a result of the Iraq-Iran war.

There is no shortage of militario scenarios for a potential conflict. Most experts agree that the United States will deliver a massive air strike from more than 30 bases, thus establishing air supremacy. In desert conditions, in which ground forces' positions are clearly visible, it could be decisive. That is the view of, for example, former Egyptian Defense Minister Abu-Ghazalah, who was a military adviser in Iraq prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

But who can calculate the consequences of a possible war? How do you convey the tragic horror of it, the senselessness of the vast loss of life, and the danger of a worldwide ecological catastrophe as a result of fires in the oilfields, and how do you predict the reaction of the masses in the Arab countries?

The same scenarios are being viewed in the theater of combat. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates [UAE], Qatar, and Oman, countries located in the actual conflict zone and members of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], could be the arena. What is the mood like there? The results of the countries' recent conference in Qatar given an idea of it.

Above all, Iraq's Arab neighbors are shocked by its treachery. The shock still reverberates. "The perfidious occupation of Kuwait was carried out not by a supposed enemy, but by a country we coinsidered our friend and ally," King Fahd of Saudi Arabia lamented. "The aggression was carried out by a brother, who has received unlimited and all possible assistance from us whenever he has been in danger himself."

In fact, during the war with Iran the oil-producing Arab countries gave Baghdad tens of billions of dollars. Iraqi oil was carried by a Saudi pipeline. Freight came in through Kuwait, with some risk to Kuwait iself. It was forced to ask the United States and other countries to provide an escort for its tankers and protect them against the threat of Iranian attack. But that was not always an answer. The Iranians shelled the industrial area of Kuwait, al-Ahmadi. Qatar was also attacked.

I think the shock of the Iraqi attack and the attempts to redraw the map made a particular impact because the small Arab countries had barely tasted freedom. Kuwait obtained independence in 1961 and Bahrain, Qatar, and the UAE in 1971. Iraq's neighbors had even less chance to enjoy the fruits of economic independence, after nationalizing oil resources. Despite the veneer of prosperity, strong national economic foundations are only just beginning to be laid. What now, loss of sovereignty and subjugation again?

The Iraqi aggression has essentially been a setback for Saudi Arabia and its GCC partners. For a long time they resisted a foreign, particularly U.S., military presence on their territory, now they welcome it and are paying for it. "Who betrayed us at this testing time?" a prominent Qatar businessman poured out his heart in conversation with me. "Many of our Arab brothers. Who came to our aid? Those whom we have often vilified and denounced." "Did they need to seize Kuwait in order to support the Palestinians by threatening to strike at Israel? What stopped them doing that directly? Nothing. The justification of Baghdad's actions was sheer demagoguery," was the opinion of another interlocutor—the director of the Qatar national museum.

In conveying the mood in the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf opposed to Iraq, I would mention that it is expressed in practical actions. At the GCC countries' conference the question was raised of the establishment of a new regional security system to prevent acts of aggression such as the Iraqi one.

Unlike in the past, greater attention would be paid to strengthening the GCC countries' military potential. Kuwaitis, for example, are currently undergoing combat training in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria. The overall strength of these countries' armies is small, around 150,000 men, although defense expenditure is vast. Now the U.S. military presence is obviously going to be a bigger factor in the regional security system and expenditure on armaments will further increase.

A fund is being set up to finance the countries supporting the GCC grouping.

The new element is efforts to involve Iran in the regional security system. As is known, relations with it deteriorated following Tehran's seizure of three Arab islands in the Strait of Hormuz. They worsened dramatically owing to the Iran-Iraq conflict. The situation changed when Iraqi tanks were suddenly deployed against Arabs. Clearly, Iran could play the role of a counterweight.

Finally, the Soviet Union is ceasing to be an outsider as far as the GCC countries are concerned. Our policy is seen as a constant positive factor. Reasonably enough, they expect us to continue to exercise a stabilizing influence and aid the quest for peace in the Near East.

Obviously, these new trends in the creation of a regional security system in the Persian Gulf zone will develop whatever the outcome of of the Kuwait-Iraq crisis, military or peaceful. But there is a common desire here to avoid bloodshed. There is still a glimmer of hope that the diplomatic efforts will yet bear fruit and that the shadow of war that hangs over the Persian Gulf will disappear.

Profits, Losses From Gulf Crisis Viewed

91UF0301A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, Jan 91 p 6

[Article by A. Konoplyanik, candidate of economic sciences: "Persian Gulf Crisis: Our Profit and Loss"]

[Text] The steep increase in the price of oil on the world market which followed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has afforded grounds for believing that the Soviet Union is deriving considerable economic benefits from this. Figures ranging from $5-6 billion to $10 billion are being cited here. Is this true?

Our Profits

Let us take as the reference point the level of the price of oil prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. On 1 August the price of Near East oil, which is close to the Soviet export blends, was $17.90 a barrel, but on 30 October, $30.80. Continuation of the price at this level through the end of 1990 made the average August-December price of Dubai oil $29.30 a barrel. This means that, given a continuation of Soviet oil exports to capitalist countries at the 1989 level (44.6 million tons), the USSR would have obtained in the five months of 1990 additional earnings of the order of $1.5 billion.

Considering also the increase in the price of petroleum products, the Soviet Union could in 1990 have obtained additional earnings from the sale of oil and petroleum products of up to $3 billion.

But is our country receiving this money? I believe not. The main reason is the reduction in export supplies of oil and petroleum products owing to the serious situation which has taken shape in the USSR's oil production. According to figures of the State Committee for Statistics, in the first nine months of 1990 oil production in the country declined by 23.5 million tons compared with 1989.

In addition, for the first time since the war the Soviet Union moved onto the world oil market as a customer. According to unofficial data, 400,000-500,000 tons of gasoline were purchased, which cost the country $150-200 million. Part of the country's additional export revenue from the increase in the price of oil thereby went to finance imports of petroleum products.

The market panic caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait also led to an increase in the price of gold of approximately $30 a troy ounce. Given our volume of trade in gold (296 tons in 1989, according to Western estimates), the continuation of prices at this level could have brought the country prior to the end of 1990 additional earnings of $125 million, which, it is true, has already been "eaten up" by the above-mentioned purchase of gasoline.

Our Losses

Soviet specialists are citing the most varied estimates of the economic consequences for the USSR of the curtailment, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations, of trade and economic relations with Kuwait and Iraq: from $900 million a year to $6-7 billion. Which of these is the true figure?

According to data of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute, the USSR supplied Baghdad with $13.25 billion of arms in 1980-1989. Considering that supplies were suspended in 1980-1982, when Iraq attacked Iran and fought a war on its territory, the average annual extent of the sale of Soviet weapons to Baghdad may be put at $1.7- 1.9 billion. Having terminated these supplies as of August 1990, the USSR may have experienced a shortfall up to the end of the year of $700-800 million (up to $1.25 billion, according to other data).

The extent of Soviet "civilian" exports to Iraq in 1989 is put at a total ranging from 107.9 rubles [R] to R255.4 million. The USSR's direct losses from the conflict in the Gulf under this head could have constituted from R45 million to R105 million up to the end of 1990.

The State Committee for Statistics has estimated Soviet imports from Iraq in 1989 at R975.9 million, of which oil supplies constituted 99.6 percent. All the oil imported by the USSR from Iraq is wholly reexported: to India, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

Soviet exports to Kuwait in 1989 amounted to R117.4 million, given virtually zero imports. Having lost this sales market, the USSR suffered a shortfall in August-December of approximately $80 million. The USSR sustained no less a loss from the termination of financial and economic cooperation with Kuwait. It had been initiated in 1987, when Kuwaiti banks participated in granting the Soviet Union a loan on the order of $150 million. An agreement was signed with Kuwait in May 1990 on the granting to the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations of $300 million of credit for seven years. Kuwait had also undertaken to subsidize the development of the USSR's oil production in a number of new areas of Siberia and the Arctic zone difficult of access, and to render other assistance.

Thus the sum total of monies not received by the USSR as a result of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict will in 1990 have constituted $1.9-2.1 billion.

The additional revenue is still in excess of the sum total of monies not received by the country. In 1990 this balance will be considerably less than $1 billion, the maximum amount of the possible "gain" being thought to range from $500 million to $1.15 billion.

Jordan-Bound Arms Shipment 'Bungling' Viewed

PM1001125791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 1

[Report by A. Vasilyev: "The Furmanov Was Sailing Through the Red Sea"]

[Text] The U.S. cruiser Mississippi and the Spanish frigate Infanta Cristina halted the Soviet ship Dmitriy Furmanov and asked it to "present its documents." It emerged that the motor ship bearing the glorious name of the commissar who served under Chapayev was

carrying 106 tonnes of military spare parts and assemblies to Jordan, supplied to the Hashemite Kingdom in accordance with intergovernmental agreements concluded previously.

The U.S. and Spanish seamen had the right to do this under the UN Security Council resolutions. It is up to the lawyers to investigate whether the Soviet side was in breach of the international accords. But where is common sense, dear comrades? It is after all well-known that if war breaks out in the Gulf Jordan will fight on Saddam Husayn's side. With Chapayev's directness our people have said that they regard the incident as "actions aimed against the Soviet merchant fleet's commercial activity." But is it appropriate to engage in this kind of commerce when the whole world is sitting on a powder keg and is counting off the days to war on its fingers?

There can hardly be a question here of secret links between the Soviet Union and Iraq, of underground arms shipments, etc. In my opinion, this is all the latest example of our bungling, which has caused us to once again find ourselves in a foolish position.

Gorbachev Meets With Jewish Congress Leader

Holds Talks 9 Jan

PM0901121591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev received E. Bronfman, a prominent representative of North American business circles and president of the World Jewish Congress, 8 January in the Kremlin.

In the course of the ensuing conversation they discussed a broad range of problems including the contemporary situation in the world and the Near East situation. They also broached questions linked with the development of perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union. E. Bronfman confirmed business circles' interest in developing cooperation with the USSR.

S. Kherbits [name as transliterated], along with A.F. Dobrynin and A.I. Volskiy, took part in the conversation.

Invitation to Shamir Reported

TA0901195091 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Kushnir]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed willingness to meet Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir in Moscow to discuss the entire range of problems pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Gorbachev announced this to news correspondents following his meeting in Moscow with Edgar Bronfman, the president of the World Jewish Congress. In the course of their meeting Gorbachev promised Bronfman that even if Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze goes through with his resignation, there would be no changes in Soviet foreign policy.

Our political correspondent Aleksandr Kushnir analyzes this report, which was carried by the news agencies.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Israel are gradually progressing in the right direction. We have seen extremely encouraging economic and commercial developments. Chambers of commerce have opened in both countries. Diplomatic relations were raised to the level of consuls general. Cultural relations have prospered without the interference of state authorities of either country—or in other words, with complete freedom. Just recently Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Israeli Prime Minister Shamir met in New York, in what was the first meeting of this kind since 1967, when diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off. Now once again the Soviet Union has expressed the willingness to hold a top-level meeting, this time between the leaders of both countries.

I believe that this would be a good opportunity to discuss all the problems both our countries are interested in resolving, whether these issues pertain to relations between Israel and the Soviet Union or whether they pertain to the process of normalization in the Middle East. Nevertheless, I assume that neither Israel nor the Soviet Union would be interested in rushing or artificially goading this process on. The process of normalization between the Soviet Union and Israel must develop in a normal fashion with no artificial pressures, especially because the current situation in the Middle East, and above all in the Persian Gulf, is very complex with only one question currently at the top of the international agenda—how to resolve the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, the results of the Iraqi aggression.

If and when the conflict in the Persian Gulf is resolved, and after the Security Council resolutions on the Persian Gulf are implemented, those developments will, of course, also create propitious conditions for solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is where the truth should be laid on the table: Soviet agreement to renew diplomatic relations with Israel should not be some sort of a reward for good behavior. It is true that two issues are interconnected: the normalization of Soviet-Israeli relations and future developments in the Middle East. The Soviet Union has in no way tied the normalization of its relations with the State of Israel or with any other country in the world to the fulfillment of any preconditions. We are currently building our foreign policy on the foundations of a new political thinking that calls for a balance of interests and not a balance of power.

Reports 'Denied,' Clarified

TA1001084191 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 Jan 91 p 10

[Report by Walter Ruby]

[Text] Moscow—World Jewish Congress [WJC] President Edgar Bronfman yesterday denied reports that President Gorbachev had invited Prime Minister Shamir to Moscow during his meeting with Bronfman Tuesday.

Asked by this reporter if Gorbachev had invited Shamir to meet with him here, Bronfman said, "No. The actual language (he used) was that Mr. Shamir has an open door to discuss the problems of the Middle East." Asked what that "open door" meant, Bronfman shrugged and said, "You have to interpret it the way you want to." Pressed if the words could be considered an invitation, Bronfman responded, "No, not specifically."

THE JERUSALEM POST reported yesterday that Gorbachev's remark made it clear he believed there was room for discussion on breaking the deadlocked peace process despite Shamir's rejection of the international conference which Moscow advocates.

WJC director Elan Steinberg said that after learning of an Israel Radio report that Gorbachev had "invited" Shamir to Moscow, he checked the notes of the Gorbachev-Bronfman meeting to make sure there were no misunderstandings.

According to Steinberg, "After Bronfman pointed out what might or might not be acceptable to Israel given its public stance, Gorbachev said, 'There is an open door for Shamir' to discuss these matters.... What was significant to me was that it showed flexibility in the Soviet position."

"One thing is clear: We did not say that Gorbachev said that he invited Shamir," Steinberg stressed.

Bronfman held meetings yesterday with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Interior Minister Boris Pugo. No details on the talks were immediately available.

Meanwhile, an informed Soviet source said his government recently declined to issue an invitation to Foreign Minister David Levi to meet with officials in Moscow, despite Levi's request for such an invitation. The Soviet Foreign Ministry informed the Israelis it is still too early to consider such a visit, the source said.

Filev Meets With PLO's 'Arafat in Tunis

LD1001082491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Tunis, 10 Jan (TASS)—Yasir 'Arafat, PLO chairman and president of the Palestinian state, has received A.I. Filev, first deputy head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration, on Wednesday in Tunis. In accordance with the practice of conducting operational consultations on the current questions adopted in Soviet-Palestinian relations, the exchange of opinions focused mainly on the task of preventing a military confrontation and arriving at a political solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. Y. 'Arafat has confirmed the PLO course in maintaning close cooperation with the Soviet Union in achieving a just settlement to all the Middle Eastern problems.

East Europe

Reports Follow Polish Premier's Election

Ryzhkov Sends Greetings

PM0801100991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Greetings message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, to J. Bielecki on his appointment as Polish premier]

[Text] To Mr. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

Please accept our congratulations on your appointment as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

We proceed on the basis that the traditional relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland will continue to develop in the interests of our countries and peoples and to promote the strengthening of positive processes in Europe.

I wish you success in this high post.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov

Premier Reaffirms Current Policy

PM0801102191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent A. Starukhin: "Poland: Ministers Named"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—This time the Christmas holiday was a time of sittings, meetings, consultations, and discussions for Polish politicians. The country's new president, Lech Walesa, resolutely tackled the question: What is the government to be like and who will head it? As is well known, the first attempt to form a cabinet of ministers was unsuccessful. The legislature has now ratified Poland's new prime minister. He is Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. He too has come to the capital "from the sea"—from Gdansk. [passage omitted]

In his initial statements he has stressed that he intends to create a government of professionals. The premier, ratified the day before, delivered his program speech at Saturday's legislative sitting. He also named the future ministers. The candidacies are to be discussed before being put on the list for ratification. [passage omitted]

In the foreign policy sphere Poland's new government intends to pursue the line that has taken shape over the last 15 months. The country's security will be based on

good relations with neighboring states and other countries in the region, on the current all-European security system, and on the maintenance of close contacts with European institutions. Speaking about good-neighborly relations with our country, Poland's prime minister particularly stressed that they will develop at two levels—with the Soviet Union as a single whole and with the republics individually, in particular with border republics.

Legislators Visit With Polish Counterparts

PM1001115191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel A. Belousov: "Difficult Talks"]

[Text] On 8 January, Soviet legislators, during a tour of the districts and groups of troops, met in Warsaw With J. Makarczyk, secretary of state of the Polish Foreign Ministry, and representatives of the commissions for national defense and foreign affairs and the republic's Sejm, and representatives of the Senate. During the discussions great attention was devoted to two questions: the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and transit across that country for the units and formations which are being withdrawn from German territory. It could seem that the difference in views between the participants in the talks could only be with regard to the sequence in which they propose to resolve these problems. In reality the topic of the dispute was far deeper.

L. Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security, Colonel General V. Dubynin, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputy and the Soviet Government's fully empowered representative for the presence of our troops in the Republic of Poland, people's deputies of the USSR, Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, and Major General Yu. Polyakov, leader of the group of representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry, adhere to a specific position: The withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces will take place, but at present something else is more important—resolving transit problems.

B. Geremek, chairman of the Polish Sejm commission for national defense, J. Golaczynski, chairman of the commission for national affairs, Brigadier General Z. Ostrowski, and other participants in the meeting on the Polish side adhere to a different viewpoint. Poland, they said, is the only country where there are Soviet troops with which a treaty on their withdrawal has not been signed. That is why a treaty must be signed as soon as possible and it must provide for a withdrawal deadline of one year. The Soviet legislators have a substantial objection to that: A treaty on Poland does exist, it was signed in 1956.

In brief, it cannot be said that the Soviet and Polish legislators reached a consensus, but mutual understanding was nonetheless achieved on a number of positions.

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev Praised at Central American Summit

91UF0300A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Dec 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Medvedenko: "Central America: Through Joint Efforts"]

[Text] The meeting of the heads of five Central American states held during 15-16 December in a small resort city with the same name ended with the adoption of the Puntarenas Declaration. Panamanian President Guillermo Endara participated as an observer.

Costa Rican President Rafael Angel Calderon who spoke at the solemn ceremony confirmed, on behalf of the participants in the meeting, their resolve to fight for "strengthening democracy and the peaceful regulation of all conflicts in the region." He expressed gratitude to "friends of Central America" and particularly to "USSR President and Nobel Prize winner Mikhail Gorbachev for his invaluable contribution to the process of international detente."

Forums like this have already become a tradition in this region. The heads of the Central American states have meet nine times since 1986, when the first summit meeting was held in the Guatemalan city of Escuipulas.

The agenda included more than 10 questions of an economic, political, and ecological nature.

The greatest attention was devoted to El Salvador and the search for paths to a peaceful resolution to the prolonged crisis there. One of the participants in the meeting stated: "El Salvador is a bleeding wound in the body of Central America." This comparison reflects the existing situation. The civil war has been continuing in this country since 1980. It has taken more than 72,000 lives, mainly of peaceful residents. Nonetheless it is still difficult to say when peace will come to El Salvador.

Searches for a mutual agreement there began as early as April of this year with the mediation of the UN secretary general first in Geneva and then in Caracas. But the peace dialogue soon reached an impasse. The reason was the unwillingness to yield of both sides. During the past few weeks the armed conflict between government troops and detachments of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) has broken out with new force. The sixth round of negotiations between them earmarked for the beginning of November has been postponed several times.

All this causes serious alarm, not only on the part of Central Americans. A month ago the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which unambiguously expresses support for a peaceful regulation of the conflict in El Salvador. The need for the most

rapid achievement of a political agreement and a cease-fire was declared also by the participants in the American-Soviet exchange on Latin American problems held in October of this year in Washington. They emphasized that both the Salvadoran government and the insurrectionists should refrain from armed actions.

In the declaration that was adopted, participants in the meeting in Puntarenas once again condemned violence as a method of solving political problems and called for the United Nations to step up its activity for achieving peace in El Salvador. The document emphasizes support for the efforts of Alfredo Cristiani, the president of El Salvador, which are directed toward peaceful regulation. At the same time, the FMLN was condemned for "its actions" and called on "to bring an immediate halt to violent actions."

Problems of a socioeconomic nature were also actively discussed. In particular, they discussed regional integration and the establishment of closer economic relations with EEC countries, Mexico, and also the United States, taking into account the "initiative for America" advanced by G. Bush.

The discussion of this problem was preceded by G. Bush's recently completed trip through the Latin American countries, during the course of which, while his initiative was given a positive assessment, it was considered to be insufficient.

One cannot but note that this initiative was discussed in the same tones at the meeting in Puntarenas. It was noted in particular that the measures proposed by G. Bush could not equalize the unequal trade exchange or normalize the financial and economic situation in the region.

There is nothing surprising in this coincidence, incidentally, if one takes into account the fact that the Central American countries are experiencing the same difficulties as their Latin American fellows are. I shall cite just one figure. In 1980 the total foreign debt of the countries of the region was $7.7 billion, and now it is in excess of $18 billion.

At the same time, in Puntarenas they expressed the hope that G. Bush's initiative, as the president of Costa Rica stated, "could become the basis for opening a new era in relations and cooperation between the United States and Central America."

In the opinion of political observers and information agencies, one of the important results of the meeting was the unanimous decision to send a message to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev inviting him make an official visit to the countries of the region in 1990.

Childrens' Maltreatment in Cuba Denied

PM1001091791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by M. Titov and A. Burlov under the rubric: "Letter to the Editor": "What We Saw in Cuba"]

[Text] Moscow—Our press, specifically ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, has reported the outrageous treatment of Soviet children in Cuba, where the republic's leadership had invited them for rest and treatment. We recently visited Cuba as part of a group of Armed Forces veterans. Of course we wanted to visit the Jose Marti Young Pioneer Camp and see the living conditions for Soviet kids from areas affected by the Chernobyl catastrophe. So, what did we see?

The Cubans have turned the young pioneer camp into a virtual sanatorium. The children live in cottages and not in barracks, as alleged in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. They take their meals in a good cafeteria. We spoke with many, and all were pleased to be there. Here is a statement by teachers and tutors L. Baliyev, O. Shulg, and V. Gutnik, who came with the children: "God grant that our own young pioneer camps are run the same way and that we care for our children as the Cubans do." This is the truth of the matter. One wonders why ARGUMENTY I FAKTY found it necessary to publish V. Lodyzhenko's letter containing so many untruths.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet 9 Jan Proceedings Detailed

LD0901205491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1844 GMT on 9 January carries the scheduled "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program which includes recorded highlights of the proceedings of the 9 January Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, speaks on the document signed yesterday by Gorbachev and Yeltsin which sorted out outstanding matters.

At 1859 GMT, Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov addresses the deputies on draft budget issues:

"Esteemed comrade deputies, I will set out the amendments that have been introduced to the draft budget presented previously by the government for your examination. During further work on the material, as you know, many republics were carrying out their own work in parallel but we cooperated with them in preparing the economic agreement and during the work on the draft of the new Union treaty with regard to its economic sections. Taking this into account, some of the agreed questions have already been reflected in the material which you have received today and which you are examining.

"First, the issue here is making more precise the distribution of competencies and spheres of managing economic units, with the corresponding distribution of revenues and expenditures. This has already been reflected in those budgets which have been adopted by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, and Belorussia today. It is being proposed to you to hand over to republican control the whole 100 percent of tax turnover and not 70 percent as was presented by the government. Thus, it is a matter of 35 billion rubles [R] which corresponds to the expenditure that has been removed to be financed by the Union republic.

"At the same time, the need has arisen to introduce into the draft budget presented to you various amendments which all the committees and commissions consider necessary. These amendments stem from certain disagreements, which existed in the government and were put forward for you to discuss, on the assessment of the draft for the development of the national economy in 1991. I will allow myself to recall that when presenting the draft budget the Finance Ministry tried to convince the whole government, including yourselves, that the country had the necessary potential and resources, if work is properly organized, to prevent a fall in production and a fall in national income. It was on the basis of this that we drew up our projections for the state budget and the Union budget for 1991.

"Unfortunately, the committees and commissions did not agree with us and in connection with this, we introduced amendments in the material which has been distributed to you, reducing profits by R31 billion and, correspondingly, the tax on profits by R14 billion.

"At the same time, taking account of the tense financial situation, we proposed somewhat reducing the benefits which are envisaged by the law on the profits tax and thus reducing the deficit in the state budget. The committees and commissions consider it essential to restore benefits; this is reflected in the materials proposed to you. This is assessed at R11 billion of profits and R5 billion of tax.

"A few words on the sales tax that has been introduced. As you know a report presented on this question and it received support in principle. In connection with this, today the introduction of a sales tax at the same time reduces profits by R44 billion and the tax on profits by R18 billion. The amendment on the profit and on the tax gives reductions in profits of R86 billion and in tax of R37 billion.

"Thus, so far the specified revenue is estimated at R292 billion for 1991. Regarding sales tax, in our calculations, for the volumes of production and deliveries of goods which are taking shape in accordance with the forecasted development of the economy, sales tax, when taken as a total nominal value, will amount to about R100 billion. However, because budget fixtures will have to be compensated since they cannot come from any other source and, at the same time, since income tax is being reduced by R18 billion, the remainder from sales tax for the country's budget is estimated at R69 billion in total. Committees and commissions propose to cut defense expenditure but this issue, I think, will be covered during discussions on the issue of the volume of expenditure on this item. Comrade Kucherenko has already reported on this issue more than once here, and I think there is no need for me to repeat it.

"Regarding the additional amendments that have been introduced to the documents you have received, we have taken into consideration the R5.6 billion—the payment for natural resources which has been introduced and which agrees with the issues that were raised by a number of autonomous republics and a number of localities from the point of view of their right, the right of their peoples to the value that is incorporated in the land of their ancestors. At the same time, upon agreeing with the Russian Federation, we have transferred revenues and expenses linked with geological prospecting amounting to R5 billion, thereby leaving 2.7 billion in the Union budget. It has been proposed to introduce yet another amendment: to increase the Union budget's expenditure on serving state debt by R6.7 billion. Thus, today you are being offered the opportunity to take all the expenses on servicing the internal state into the Union budget. Such amendments have been introduced although I must frankly tell the deputies that I personally

disagree with this. I would think that in present conditions it would be more just, first, to divide the debt itself and, second, to distribute the expenses on serving the debt between the Union and republics.

"I would like to dwell on yet another issue, with your permission. As Comrade Maslyukov has already reported, intense work is under way now on the economic agreement for 1991 between all the Union republics and the Union bodies of state government in general. The thing is that this work has not been completed, it appears that it will be completed in the near future; certain additional clarifications still have to be introduced into the drafts which have been submitted for your examination, including the draft budget you are examining now, proceeding from the final coordination which the Union republics will agree between themselves.

"Therefore, I have a request that a corresponding instruction be added to the draft law that the future Cabinet of Ministers should have the right and obligation to introduce additional amendments, during the fulfillment of the budget, which you will approve in one form or other and in one variant or other—amendments which will stem from the economic agreement signed by all the Union republics. It seems to me that this would be correct both in essence and in form."

At 1908 GMT, Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, discusses the USSR's hard currency position:

"The forecasts for exports and imports in 1991 and the balance of payments have been discussed in detail in the planning and budget commission and other commissions, so I will not be returning to this. I will try to reply to certain comments and questions which were raised here, and above all react to comments on the draft Union budget for 1991. You know that the general hard currency situation is extremely difficult: 1991 is proceeding in a very strained manner. Our exports are falling sharply. To give you an idea of the scale of the drop, I will cite just one figure, for our main export commodity, oil. While exports under the 1990 plan were 120 million tonnes, they are being exactly halved in 1991. And a certain increase in the price of oil is not saving our situation. The situation is at the same time made worse by the fact that in 1991 we shall have to pay very large debts, and this is sharply reducing the country's hard currency possibilities. Thus, in line with the submitted plan and as a result of the consideration of this matter in the currency and finance committee, the following figures have been adopted.

"Overall hard currency resources are estimated at about 44 billion rubles [R] of which R22 billion is freely convertible currency. How is this being allocated? I will confine myself to freely convertible currency. Nine billions are going to replay our foreign debt; 4.8 billion to the hard currency holdings of enterprises; 7.6 billion to the Union-republican hard currency holdings; and 800 million to the hard currency holdings of the Union republics and local soviets.

"So as far as the resources at the disposal of the country and the state are concerned, we are talking of 7.6 billion. This decision was confirmed by the currency commission, and action was taken on the use of these resources."

At 1911 GMT, Deputy Laverov from the Science Committee replies to questions about how medical and scientific research institutes are going to be financed.

Shcherbakov of the Labor Committee then outlines how the poorest people will fare; pensioners, for example. Money has been set aside for wages. From 1 January enterprises are obliged to pay a minimum state wage, and can award extra from profits at their discretion.

Valyukov of Gosbank replies to questions on cooperatives.

At 1923 GMT, Culture Minister Gubenko says there are grounds for hoping that the situation in the cultural sphere will improve: the plan for more money for the low paid, the cultural development fund, and plans for nurturing local talent.

Geology Minister Gabrielyants speaks briefly next.

A representative of the Education Committee then notes the importance of science and Russian language teaching in schools.

Yakovlev of the state arbitration service says he wants more money for the Court of Arbitration.

At 1938 GMT, Finance Minister Pavlov is asked about currency reform. He says foreign financial relations are being used to improve the consumer market. He says price reform cannot be implemented in a declining economy: stabilization is a prerequisite. Monetary reform needs lengthy preparation, he concludes.

At 1942 GMT, the announcer says that a closed session was held in the evening and the program ends.

Maslyukov Speaks on Budget

LD0901231791 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1844 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Speech by Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, at the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies: Permit me to congratulate the new deputies who joined the Supreme Soviet at the Fourth Congress. I would like to wish the newly elected deputies and all of you very fruitful and harmonious joint work and success. I hope that the comrades who have joined us... [pauses] we know many of them, they have played an active part in drafting work and in the work of the Supreme Soviet. And I think there

is no need today to repeat the reports that we have already delivered. I just want to dwell on certain fundamental points.

I would like to remind you of the dramatic route traversed at the stage of discussing, drafting, and passing the plans this year. And perhaps we can complain that it is already January, and we still do not have a plan and budget passed. There are, of course, many subjective reasons for this, connected with shortcomings in the work of individual bodies of state administration. But at the same time, there were also very many objective causes; and among them I would, of course, single out the fact that the forming of the supreme soviets of the republics had fallen behind somewhat and consideration of these issues had fallen behind. The wave of proclamations of sovereignty that swept across the republics, affecting all aspects of the drafting of the plan, ultimately got in the way of formulating and presenting to you a final version of the plan. And I would just like to tell you today that it seems to me that a period of sobering up has arrived. A very large amount of work has been done with all the republics, in which the USSR president was involved.

A very large amount of work has been done. And yesterday the first stage of this work—well, I consider this to be one of the basic stages—was completed by the fact that Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Yeltsin signed a document, a provisional economic agreement for 1991, which regulates the main disputed questions which are facing us and which made it impossible for us to elaborate a final variant of the plan and the budget.

On 12 January there will be a meeting of the Council of the Federation with the participation of all republics at which this document will be discussed. Perhaps some changes will be introduced; but the most important thing is that, in the opinion of the government, in the opinion of the president, and in the opinion of the leader of the Russian Federation, in this document a very well-weighed relationship has been found between the sovereignties and the rights of the republics on the one hand and the rights and duties of the Union as a whole which are incumbent on the central government.

Apart from this, I would like to inform you, comrades, that during the dicussion of this draft agreement a whole range of changes have been introduced concerning the sources and objects of financing, both revenue and expenditure. There is something of a change in the relationship of the rights and duties of the republics and of the central government.

Therefore, perhaps today we shall not be able to answer you specifically about from where and from which article of the budget, whether republican, local, or all-Union, finance will be provided for various programs for the construction of some heat and power station or, say, the construction of some irrigation project. But, nonetheless, the approaches have been determined and we now have every grounds, by means of specific work, over a very short time period, to complete the elaboration of the all-Union plan and the plans of the Union republics and the budgets.

Speaking about the all-Union plan, I will remind you only that it consists of two large sections. The first section is a forecast of the operation of the economy which takes into account the fact that the country is starting to go over to market relations in the most vigorous way. At the same time, being aware of the fact that market relations, without most strict legislative regulation—and such regulations have not yet been elaborated in our country, unfortunately, and in many cases what has been elaborated has not been approved—it requires a certain degree of participation, a certain system of governing the emergence of a market. Therefore, the long list of documents that has been prepared is completely in agreement with the issues reflected in the forecast that you have all received. I would not like to dwell on the forecast in detail but, after all, retaining the state order is a method for regulating work. Although it has been reduced by about 20-25 percent in terms of range and by about 30 percent in terms of volume, it is still sufficiently considerable to enable one to speak about real market relations in 1991, that is, about 100-percent market relations. Why? Because when the issues of all-Union powers and, the main thing, issues of food and providing heating and fuel for the population were being examined, both deputies and members of the government unanimously demanded that this should remain in the sphere of Union responsibility for 1991.

I would simply like to tell you that of the material resources such as fuel and power resources, resources relating to construction, requirements of the agro-industrial complex, and the centralized sphere make up more than 55 percent, which means that these resources are in the sphere of distribution by directive.

This is one point. At the same time we understood that if not enough resources are left for organizing market relations and horizontal ties, then the issue of the transition to the market will be dragged out for several more years. Therefore, we studied with great attention all the agreements the republics concluded between each other and we tried in every possible way—I think the republics will confirm this—to ensure that where horizontal ties had been agreed between republics, they should be taken into strict consideration in our estimates and plans, without breaking these ties and supporting in every possible way precisely horizontal mutual relations both between republics and enterprises. But at the same time, of course, we proceeded from the fact that the horizontal ties we need between enterprises should in no way be upset and that republics would maintain the ties established for the time being.

These matters have been discussed repeatedly at the Council of the Federation. These matters have been discussed in the government with the republics, and I will say that complete understanding has been reached here. And, despite the absence of directive documents,

those decrees of the president that were issued on 29 December, those decrees—decisions of the government—that were issued at the end and middle of December on all the issues concerning the plan, enable us to begin to organize the work of industry, of agriculture, and of budgetary organizations in such a way that before the completion and adoption of the plan, one could now expect normal work and not anticipate interruptions.

Indeed, I would like also to point out that the absence of a plan, the absence of a state order, which constitutes a cementing link, as it were, of the structure, the crystal lattice, of the whole basis of our work in 1991, of course constrains and does not permit us to organize the normal work which we would be able to carry out if we had these documents. Therefore, I think our main task—and we are at your complete disposal—is that the plan be worked out as rapidly as possible at the sitting of the Supreme Soviet—a working discussion is under way today with the commissions—so that as many decisions as possible can be adopted on the spheres of the authority of the USSR and decisions of the Supreme Soviet. After them, the USSR Council of Ministers will adopt decisions which will develop all those points which will be jointly in your conclusion and the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, comrades, you will also pay serious attention that historically it has come about that our country, beginning from 1985 or even 1984, has depended to a very great extent on imports of raw and component materials. Suffice it to say that light industry depends by approximately 40 percent on imported raw materials. The food industry depends on them to a great extent. The agricultural complex depends on the supply of certain types of fertilizers, pesticides, and other goods which are necessary for the organization of normal work. There are very many questions on the purchasing of equipment. There are major questions for our industry concerning the procurement of imported items making up sets, especially from the countries that are former people's democracies.

Anyway, there are very serious issues. Questions remain still in the field of the fuel and power complex from the point of the financial equilibrium of its work, but all these questions can be resolved in the near future, as soon as the fundamental issues of the plan are examined. Therefore, in the conclusion which has been put forward, and in the draft decision which exists, I would ask very strongly, comrades, that the questions of currency equilibrium and that balance of payments shortage which the state administration body proposes, definitely be reflected, because this point has fallen out of the conclusion. Besides, I would not want to take up too much of your time.

As far as the conclusion presented by the Conciliation Commission is concerend, we have one-and-a-half pages of comments. I also think that we can take a look at this on a working basis. And, overall, I would like to express my profound gratitude to all who took part in the work on all aspects of the plan and budget, because despite the fact that the requirements of all who represent their constituents today exceed our possibilities by 300 billion rubles, very many questions were nevertheless raised, and solutions were found to very many questions.

By and large, I would evaluate the Supreme Soviet decision as very realistic. I think that it reflects the spirit of the times and the worry concerning the state of affairs in the economy, and that it correctly suggests ways out of the critical situation.

I cannot of course say that the demands put forward by deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet are unjustified. They are justified, but the economy is in such a state today that the decline has not ended yet. We have not bottomed out yet. And we need to arrange our work as quickly as possible in such a way that later, when the upturn in the economy is being effected, as proposed in our draft plan, we can seek out additional resources and, most importantly, earn them, to ensure that the needs and demands that have been put forward can be met.

There is another matter, comrades. I would like to tell you that all the members of the government, the deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, and the heads of the complexes are here. They will, of course, give answers to all the questions that exist. Either I or comrade Pavlov will reply to questions as and if necessary. But I would like you to take advantage of the people present here as fully as possible.

And that is where I want to end, comrades. It would seem to me that we have every opportunity to reply to questions today, to agree on unresolved problems, and to finalize the draft decision that the Conciliation Commission came up with, so that tomorrow we can come to a joint session of the chambers with a definitively drafted and agreed draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the plan and budget for 1991.

Maslyukov on Chemical Arms Cuts

LD0901234791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1640 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Remarks by Gosplan (State Planning Committee) Chairman Yuriy Maslyukov at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 9 January; from the "USSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] I consider it necessary to ask a question, the resolution of which the political prestige of our state depends to a large extent. On 1 June 1990 the USSR president signed the Soviet-U.S. agreement on eliminating chemical weapons. The cost of fulfilling this is estimated at several billion rubles [R]. We should begin in 1992. The question is: Does the draft budget have a separate mention of this article of expenditure, and in the budget of which department is it included? This question is asked by Deputy Gams, from the committee for questions of ecology and the rational use of resources.

What would I like to say about this? The elimination is scheduled to start beginning 31 December 1992. By 1996 it is necessary to go over to an annual rate of destruction of 1,000 tonnes, not less than 1,000 tonnes of poisonous chemical materials. No later than 31 December 1999, it is necessary to destroy at least half of the stocks and by the year 2002 reduce them to a level of 5,000 tonnes of poisonous chemical materials. What needs to be done to achieve this? First, build three industrial zones for destroying chemical weapons. That is the first thing. I will inform you that to date not one region has agreed to take such an installation; and, with regard to this, so far for 1991 we have envisaged carrying out only design and prospecting work. It is planned to spend R55 million on research, design, and development work in 1991 on this problem, and this is envisaged within the allocations which have been made to the USSR Defense Ministry.

At the same time, considering the fact that the scale of the destruction of chemical weapons is extremely great and requires vast expenditure—about R2.5 to R3 billion, in 1989 prices—it will be necessary for us in 1992 to begin setting up such installations. True, comrades, there are several variants for a more thorough destruction using new physical principles, but they are now in the experimental stage, that is, in the stage of experimental checking. If they prove themselves, then it will be possible to reduce considerably this expenditure and, the most important thing, it will be possible to resolve this problem.

Question two: What did Comrades Gorbachev and Yeltsin agree on? As is known, the most acute question was the question of the principles of forming the Union budget. Will the principles of the supreme soviets, of the law on taxation and others, and the principles of forming the Union budget which were agreed upon by Comrades Gorbachev and Yeltsin be in accord with the existing legislation? This question—and there are several such questions, comrades—is a fundamental question. It was asked by Comrade Tarazevich. I am pleased to answer it.

I will tell you that, a very acceptable compromise was found in accordance with which the law of the USSR, adopted by the Supreme Soviet, on taxes on enterprises' profits is maintained over the whole territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and is recognized by both the USSR and the RSFSR. But, in certain cases, considering its own principles of budget financing, the RSFSR can alter the use of this law in accordance with its own principles; but then there will be—and the technology has been worked out—a joint recomputation, a joint examination, so to speak, of the claims of either side in this case.

Thus, demands No. 22 and 23—those concerning tax on profits—are preserved. But, if in some cases, in the interests of the republic, the republic has already adopted some particular legislation, it is necessary for the central and the republican bodies should find the correct decisions between themselves. I think that this is a very correct approach. It does not harm the sovereignty of the republics or activity, ensuring normal activity, because the basis remains the one adopted by the Union's Supreme Soviet.

Further on 9 Jan Discussions

LD0901183691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent V. Polozhentsev on the 9 January session of USSR Supreme Soviet; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The people's deputies continued their discussion today of the USSR State Plan and Budget for 1991. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, spoke at the morning session. He reported that it is now January, but the country still does not have an endorsed plan and budget. In his view, one reason for this is that the formation of the republic's supreme soviets has dragged out. In addition, the parade of sovereignties has also played a part in this.

Incidentally, some deputies remarked that putting it like that was an insult to the dignity of the republics.

Comrade Maslyukov expressed approval at the provisional economic agreement which had been signed by Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Such a treaty between the center and the republic will allow for solutions to economic problems to be set in motion to a considerable extent. However, the speaker noted, the economic slump in the country goes on. It is up to the Supreme Soviet to change the situation. The Conciliation Commission, he said, will put the finishing touches on the draft decision on the plan and budget, and will soon submit it to parliament for approval.

Pavlov, the country's finance minister, also spoke at the session. He dwelt on amendments and additions to the draft budget. He spoke about those remarks which had been taken into consideration during working out profits on taxes and profits on sales. The finance minister reported that some deputies are demanding a reduction in defense expenditure; however, he said, this question has already been discussed, and there is no point in going back to it. He also dwelled on the financing of certain branches of industry and science next year.

Comrades Maslyukov and Pavlov than replied to numerous questions put by deputies.

After the interval, a discussion of the country's plan and budget got under way. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, stressed that the currency situation in the country today is extremely complex. Exports are being sharply reduced. For example, exports of oil—our main export commodity—are being reduced by 2.5 times. In the present situation certain price increases on the world market are not helping things. The country's currency assets today stand at 44 billion rubles [R]; of

this, R22 billion is in freely convertible currency. At the same time, R9 billion goes toward clearing the foreign debt.

On behalf of the Committee for Science, Deputy Laverov explained how scientific research and Union and branch academies would be financed in market conditions. These allocations are to be provided from the Union budget. This is very important, he noted. In addition, scientific associations will, through competition, be able to obtain additional funds for specific programs.

Vaylukov, a representative of the USSR State Bank, provided information about the size of loans made to the cooperatives and whether they are being returned. Comrade Vaylukov said that the return was going normally. A total of R141 billion was outstanding. This is not much compared with the amount of credits that have been issued. Incidentally, he stressed that the cooperatives are some of the more stable organizations. You will agree that one does not hear positive assessments of these enterprises all that often.

On behalf of the Committee for Labor, Comrade Shcherbakov spoke about how material support for citizens still unemployed and still not fit for work will be carried out. In addition, he returned to the question of pensions. The situation on this question is a rather complicated. In connection with the various laws and decisions of the Union republics, which differ radically from the Union's laws and decisions, it is not so easy for a person moving to another republic before he receives his pension to uphold his lawful rights and to get the pension for which he has worked honestly all his life. Some republics, however, in stating their full sovereignty, take credits for pensions from the Union budget. The natural question arises, Shcherbakov said: Do they intend to return the credits in such instances?

Culture Minister Gubenko spoke in favor of a more judicious all-Union cultural policy. The financing of culture is miserly; and taking into account inflation, the implementation of many proposed programs next year will simply be impossible. There is no money for the restoration of the Pushkin Museum, the Hermitage, and the Lenin Library. In his view, conversion could help in many ways by providing theaters and museums with sound recording, lighting, and other equipment.

After a discussion of the plan and budget, in which Gabrielyants, the minister of geology, and Yakovlev, a representative of the Supreme Arbitration Court, also took part, the USSR minister of finance again replied to deputies' questions. Comrade Pavlov dwelt in particular on monetary reform. He said that the more talk there is about it, the more pressure there is on the shops and our poor industry. In conditions of widening discrepancy between production and wages, monetary reform in his view is incapable of stopping the crisis. Moreover, this question is not one which is here today, gone tomorrow. New money would need to be printed for about three years. This answer will probably disperse the growing rumors that monetary reform will not happen today or tomorrow.

After that, Kucherenko, who was chairing the session, thanked the representatives of the media and said that the next session today would be closed. At this session the legislators will listen to representatives of the Ministry of Defense and the KGB.

The session continues its work tomorrow.

Closed Evening Session 9 Jan

LD0901135691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1246 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Andrey Zuyev from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpts] It is usual for the Supreme Soviet session to have a break between 1400 and 1600. Now, however, a closed sitting of the session is currently taking place. One must not talk about it; it is a closed subject, particularly for us journalists. [passage omitted]

Planning Commission's Orlov on Economic Agreement

LD0901180291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 9 January in its scheduled "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program reporting on the 9 January proceedings carries a number of recorded interviews with members of Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

At 1606 GMT, there is an interview with an Uzbek economist on ways of dividing tax revenue between the Union and the republics.

At 1609 GMT, A.K. Orlov, first deputy chairman of the Council of the Union Planning and Budget Commission, is interviewed by the program announcer, Sergey Medvedev:

[Medvedev] Aleksandr Kondratyevich, today some people think that there will not be an economic agreement between the republics and there also will not be a plan and budget for the coming year. On the subject of an economic agreement, I want to express one more point of view to you, that we must achieve it at any price, and reach a concensus, no matter what it is. Do you agree?

[Orlov] No, I do not agree it should be achieved at any price. Naturally, we must approach this sensibly and with due regard for the interests of all the subjects of the federation, including the Union republics, and autonomous ones, and even the national formations, but not at any price. However, this agreement will be signed.

[Medvedev] Are you sure about that?

[Orlov] Absolutely.

[Medvedev] Today...

[Orlov, interrupting] Because today we already know that as a result of a very lengthy meeting Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev have reached the main decision: on the maintenance of the operation of the Union law on taxation on enterprises' profits and its operation for 1991.

[Medvedev] Which Russia altered, let's put it like that, on its territory?

[Orlov] Yes, Russia. Quite right. Moreover, the law of the republics on this issue, on taxation, including Russia, is not abrogated.

[Medvedev] How does this work?

[Orlov] The difference is that if a 22 percent contribution of taxes to the Union budget is not obtained, then the difference will be covered by centralized sources from the Union republic, in this case, Russia. I believe that, basically, this is the correct approach. Well, it is an interim compromise but it is the correct approach which allows us to pass the budget for 1991.

[Medvedev] Today great concern is arising because of the position adopted by the leadership of the Baltic republics.

[Orlov] They have participated very actively, incidentally, in the discussion of matters concerning the conclusion of an interim economic agreement. All of them have signed. Bascially, there are no fundamental disagreements, although, there are specific ones, both with Russia and the Ukraine, but they are individual, specific ones. They are not fundamental. On 12 [January] this agreement will be signed by all the republics.

[Medvedev] Both by the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia?

[Orlov] Quite correct.

[Medvedev] Well, then. Let us wait for 12 [January]. In the meantime you will continue to discuss the budget and plan?

[Orlov] Yes. Quite right. We will fix the budget and plan. I think that this will be on 15 [January].

[Medvedev] One of the main problems is still how to spend a little less and to live within our incomes. At present this is not working.

[Orlov] This is not the most important problem, but it is an enormous problem because the chambers, that is, well, both the Council of Nationalities and Council of the Union commissions and committees have demanded increased assignations to enterprises in the sphere of influence of their committees and commissions by another 250 billion rubles [R]. We have a budget of 250 [not further specified] and they have added even more. How do we combat this?

[Medvedev] Demands are twice as great as capacity.

[Orlov] Altogether incredible demands. Again the old mistake of last year is being continued with regard to the discussion of the budget. Many people's deputies, even whole commissions and committees, are becoming not constructivists, but rather populists, even lobbyists of their industries and their enterprises—this is parochialism.

[Medvedev] This is understandable.

[Orlov] Yes. This is necessary, this is important. After all, they care about a particular industry, let's say. The second illness of last year which has turned out to be today's as well is that certain people simply do not understand the budget. Afterall, we do not have a state budget any more, therefore to count it from the national income is really....

[Medvedev] Senseless.

[Orlov] Senseless. This is the first Union budget. Only the departments of those spheres which are subordinate to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and not a state budget, as before. [sentence as heard] [interview ends]

At 1614 GMT, A.N. Saunin, deputy chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission, in an interview, speaks about the budget stabilization fund and the purposes it will be used for.

At 1616 GMT, A.M. Yemelyanov, in an interview, speaks about the reasons for the increase in the allocations for military purposes—it is mainly due to price rises.

At 1618 GMT, L.P. Zlomyanov, in an interview, says that there are no plans to index incomes.

The program ends at 1621 GMT.

'Cautious Optimism' on Center-Republic Disputes

LD0901161191 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Cautious optimism with regard to regulating disputes between Soviet republics and the centre dominated the joint session of Soviet parliament's committees and commissions here today. They heard government representatives report on the draft federal budget and plan for 1991.

The Soviet Union entered the new year without an approved plan and budget, the reason for this uncommon state of affairs being differences both among republics and between them and Moscow. Russia's decision to cut its contribution to the federal budget was the key obstacle.

First Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov told the parliament today that President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin had arrived at an acceptable compromise on Tuesday. On January 12, the draft interim economic agreement for 1991 is due to be discussed by the Federation Council.

Finance Minister Viktor Pavlov told parliament that the discussion of the draft interim economic agreement made it possible to specify the division of authority and, correspondingly, of revenue and spending between the centre and republics.

Chairman of the government's Foreign Economic Commission Stepan Sitaryan told deputies about the country's currency situation. He said it was "extremely tense", as exports were dwindling abruptly. Sitaryan said that oil exports will drop by half this year from the planned 120 million tonnes in 1990.

The country's currency resources are estimated at 44 billion roubles in 1991, of which revenue in freely convertible currency will amount to 22 billion roubles, Sitaryan said. One part of this sum will form the currency funds at the disposal of enterprises and republics, the other part will go to pay the Soviet Union's foreign debts. This taken into account, the state will have at its disposal a mere 7.8 billion roubles-worth of foreign currency as against 17 billion in 1990.

Sitaryan said that the Soviet Union planned to spend 400 million on assistance to other countries, of which 280 million is Afghanistan's share.

In the afternoon, committees and commissions met behind closed doors to hear reports by the heads of the Defence Ministry and the Committee for State Security (KGB), who are also expected to answer deputies' questions about their budgets.

The plan and budget are due to be considered and approved at a joint session of the parliament's chambers on Thursday.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Employment Legislation

PM1001111991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report by IZVESTIYA legislative correspondent A. Stepovoy: "Parliament Discusses Country's Plan and Budget"]

[Excerpts] After the first plenary sitting of the country's Supreme Soviet chambers 9 January a time-out was called. On that day Union legislators gathered in the Kremlin for a joint sitting of the committees and standing commissions for a detailed discussion and examination of the country's plan and budget for this year. [passage omitted]

Two Reports on the Set Theme

The first joint sitting of the new legislature's chambers was somewhat reminiscent of a student examination session. On the eve of the first examinations two venerable "parliamentary professors"—V. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission, and N. Grishchenko, chairman of the Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Commission—delivered reports. [passage omitted]

The distinguishing feature of the 1991 budget is the creation of an economic stabilization fund amounting to 114 billion rubles [R]. It is divided equally between the Union and the republics.

N. Grishchenko's report preceded the discussion of the draft Fundamentals of the Law on the Population's Employment. The adoption of this document is important and necessary, he noted, because in 1991 there will be 23 million people in the labor market. Of that figure 12.7 million will find employment for themselves in the open labor market while the rest will be registered with the employment service as seeking work (more than 10 million people). Some 5.3 million will need social support. We are dealing here with vocational retraining, public works, and temporary unemployment allowances.

The essence of the concept of employment policy, N. Grishchenko stressed, lies in creating the conditions for full, productive, and freely chosen employment backed up by an integrated system of legal norms, including some general principles—citizens' rights and the state's guarantees in the exercise of those rights, an employment-regulating mechanism, social protection measures for working people in the event of job loss, and monitoring of observance of the law.

The Supreme Soviet members listened attentively to these reports and asked the "lecturers" a number of well-informed questions. One such question was, as it were, the catchphrase of the renewed legislature: Deputies inquired how much this law is going to cost. Clearly this reflected the bitter experience of the previous legislature, which adopted so many legal acts which were costly for the treasury that there is still not the money to enforce some of them.

This year, it seems, the state fund for the promotion of employment will cost R6.9 billion.

But at the 8 January plenary sitting, deputies showed more than mere diligence in studying the draft laws. They managed to approve three of the five sections of the fundamentals.

The remaining work on the draft laws in questions has been put back to other days of the session. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Meets Industrial Managers

LD0901191491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met today with members of the council of directors of state industrial enterprises. The center of attention for those present were questions of ensuring the stability of work, discipline in deliveries, and improving the legal basis of enterprises' activities. Also discussed were ways of increasing the role of associations and councils of head of industrial enterprises in normalizing the economic situation in the country and instituting effective cooperation between enterprise administrations and unions and local authorities in solving the problems of converting the defense branches of industry.

Participating in the meeting were Maslyukov, Abalkin, Mostovoy, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Pavlov, Shcherbakov, Senchagov, USSR Ministers; and Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Ignatenko Cites Concern Over Press Problems

PM0901162791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed report in "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Investigation" feature headed "No Paper, They Said": "What Does the President Think?"]

[Text] V.N. Ignatenko, the USSR president's assistant, told us yesterday that M.S. Gorbachev has carefully studied recent items on the newspaper publication problem. The president sees the fate of glasnost as an urgent, pressing matter. He ordered the USSR Council of Ministers and organs and departments involved to solve this question.

In particular, a careful investigation has to be carried out immediately to find out: why newspapers paid for by readers did not arrive at the start of the new year and the frequency of newspaper publications has been reduced, why the price of paper has risen so sharply, and how much currency is needed for the sectors supplying paper and ensuring the publication of newspapers and magazines. The USSR president will be briefed in the very near future on everything, V.N. Ignatenko announced, and millions of readers will also receive information on specific measures to save glasnost.

Yeltsin Opposes Forced Army Conscription

LD1001110491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Yeltsin told journalists after meeting with Japanese parliamentarians that he opposes the use of force in resolving the question of army conscription. This concerns the use of military units as additional arguments in favor of service in the Soviet Army.

Moscow Emergency Food Commission Meets

LD0901192891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first session of the emergency commission for food, formed in accordance with the decision of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, was held in Moscow today. The members of the commission noted with alarm that the measures being taken in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] to provide the population with food products are not as yet yielding the required results. The the food market situation is getting worse. The question of resources of food commodities and measures to stabilize the supply of food products to the population was examined in detail at the session.

Telecommunications Privatized; Customers Reassured

PM1001103191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with O. Belov, chairman of the 'Sovtelekom' Board, by I. Yermolayeva; date and place not given: "Sovtelekom Responsible for Communications"]

[Text] From now on, without even suspecting it, whenever you dial a number in another city you will be availing yourself of the services of Sovtelekom, the new joint-stock company in intercity electronic communications.

"We are getting used to industrial enterprises' becoming joint-stock ventures. But it is something out of the ordinary when the channels of our single automated communications system—used for telephone conversations, television and radio broadcasts, newspapers relayed to other cities, and telegraphic and facsimile communications—cease to be state property and come under joint-stock ownership instead. It is even worrying...," I said to O. Belov, chairman of the Sovtelekom Board.

[Belov] "I understand, you are worried that we will start to raise the price of our services now that we own the communications channels. Don't worry—Sovtelekom will not make a hole in your pocket. Intercity communications have always been profitable—have yielded a good profit, in fact—but have remained poor, however: The lion's share of the income has always gone to the state budget and been used to finance loss-making city and rural networks. Now, however, the joint-stock company will have all its after-tax income at its own disposal.

"The founders of Sovtelekom are the USSR Communications Ministry and 32 of its enterprises and organizations, covering everything from planning to the operation of communication networks. The Communications Ministry holds a controlling package of shares, guaranteeing the development of telecommunications in the interests of the state and its inhabitants rather than exclusively in the interests of those who are prepared to pay a lot of money.

"Rather than strengthen the vertical system of relations, whereby questions are resolved via the ministry, we intend to strengthen the horizontal system—so that we deal directly with executives themselves."

Public Polled on Political Issues

91UN0633B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 90 p 1

["The Only Thing that is Left in the Country is Public Opinion—preliminary results of poll conducted by All-Union Center for Public Opinion Research"—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Question 1.

If the new Union treaty is concluded, how, in your opinion, should the question of the Armed Forces be resolved?

More than 40 percent of those polled think that all troops should be subordinated to the leadership of the Union. But practically as many think that the republics should have their own armed forces. Of this portion, a significantly larger part (23 percent of those polled) think that part of the troops should be under republic subordination and part under joint (interrepublic) subordination. Another part (18 percent) confines itself to the answer that each republic should have its own armed forces. Almost as many people found it difficult to give a definite answer.

Question 2.

Who, in your opinion, should exercise control over the distribution of products in the Soviet Union?

A majority (40 percent) entrust this role to public commissions and committees. Half that number (21 percent) name republic commissions, and a half of this (10 percent) indicated a commission appointed by the USSR president, and, finally, six percent think that this is a matter for the government of the USSR. Less than a fourth of those polled (23 percent) found it difficult to give an answer.

Question 3.

What do you think of the ultimatum conveyed by V. Alksnis to USSR President M. Gorbachev on behalf of the "Soyuz" deputy group?

Half of those polled did not know anything about this event, and less than one-fifth had difficulty answering. Five percent evaluated the ultimatum positively, and, negatively, more than twice as many (11 percent). Sixteen percent think that this ultimatum does not carry any real weight.

Question 4.

Shevardnadze announced that he is resigning in connection with organized attacks on the international policy that he is conducting as the USSR minister of foreign affairs. Do you think that the foreign policy course being conducted with Shevardnadze's participation responds or does not respond to the interests of the people of the Soviet Union?

"Fully responds" was the answer given by 63 percent of those polled, and 19 percent gave the same answer with reservations. Six percent said it "does not respond in the main or completely." The others had difficulty answering.

A telephone poll of 435 Muscovites who are a representative Moscow sample was conducted on 24 December. Among others, this question was asked:

Question 5.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze declared that reactionary forces are preparing a coup d'etat. President Gorbachev answered that he does not have such information at his disposal. In your opinion, how probable is it now that a dictatorship of the right will be established in the next few months?

Ten percent of those polled deemed such a development of events to be very probable, twice as many (21 percent) considered it possible, and twice as many again (41 percent) said this was improbable and absolutely impossible. Twenty-seven percent had difficulty answering.

Party, Soviets Struggle for Press Control

91UN0609A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Sergey Brovashov: "Founders Fine"]

[Text] **Not only the press itself, but also relations with it have now become a matter for discussion. Just as the mass media "play out" the burning issues, sometimes a trick is "played" on them. Unfortunately, such discussions sometimes create impasses right away.**

On 22 September of this year, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted the decree "On Newspapers and Magazines of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and Newspapers of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies." It prescribed that the lower soviets "solve the problem of independent publication of their press organs beginning 1 January 1991." The meaning of the decree was that the local soviets, in keeping with the above order, were to refrain from founding joint publications with the party committees.

The Law on the Press does not stipulate specifically how legitimate it is to be this categorical, but do we not see a move here toward the monopolization it prohibits? Judge for yourselves: Until recently all the rayon newspapers were published in conjunction with soviet and party organs, but now an order has come down to get rid of the raykoms [rayon party committees]. People were pulling their hair out in practically every rayon. But after a month everyone breathed easier: The RSFSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee agreed on equal financing for "those periodical publications that the soviets of people's deputies consider it expedient to publish in conjunction with the territorial CPSU organizations" in keeping with principles of equal shared participation.

It would seem that everything had been put back in place. But this was not just a matter of finances, although this kind of pooling of resources was and still is the only possibility the majority of rayons and cities had to save their newspapers from bankruptcy. The other thing was that with this agreement the local soviet and party organs were given the right to solve the problem of joint founding of publications independently, based on their own situations and not under an ukase.

But suddenly there was another surprise. In November, the committee on the mass media, communications with social organizations and mass movements of citizens, and study of public opinion under the RSFSR Supreme Soviet broke the agreement in one fell swoop. In a letter from the committee, signed by its chairman V. Yugin, it is pointed out: "The division of newspapers published as joint organs of the soviets and committees of the CPSU became an essential necessity... One cannot allow the authorities elected by all the people to give preference to any one individual party by publishing joint organs with it." And then came the clarification of how to conduct "this work!" "The soviets must refrain from founding joint publications with the party committees." True, there followed the stipulation: The soviets may found joint publications with committees and organizations of the CPSU, but in cases when it is not a matter "of official press organs of the soviets but only other publications."

The letter threatens those in the rayon, city, and oblast centers who have not yet driven out the Communists as joint founders, who are clearly in the majority, with a fine of from 500 rubles [R] to R10,000. "...for deliberate failure to carry out the legislative acts of the RSFSR." Although it must be noted that the September decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is by no means a legislative act and fines here cannot be imposed in the same form as they are interpreted in the threatening letter of the committee.

And again they tore their hair out in the local areas: Which document should they obey, where is the logic? In Perm Oblast, for example, to this day they have separated only seven of the 39 city and rayon newspapers from the party committees. The rest of them cannot get by without pooling resources: Of the R4 million in losses that are not covered, exactly half must be reimbursed from the CPSU budget, just as with paper. The local soviets will not be able to get by by themselves with their newspapers operating in the red. And the subsidies from the republic state budget, which cover only half of the losses, are only temporary. But, on the other hand, who is willing to pay out of his own pocket a fine of R10,000? Or is this fine for having business relations with Communists?

The committee's letter clearly sounds like an ultimatum. It does not take into account the realities that have developed in the local areas—neither financial nor material-production nor ideological- political. If there were a norm for dividing up the mass media, the residents of remote regions would perhaps not understand why instead of one "general" rayon newspaper they had to produce two departmental ones that were half broke. Have we really come to the point where we cannot provide for pluralism within one newspaper?

Feature Views Union Treaty's Prospects

PM0801112391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 p 1

[Feature comprising statement by Kyrgyzstan President A. Akayev; unattributed interview with Belorussian Supreme Soviet Chairman N. Dementey— place or date not given; and article by Candidate of Economic Sciences R. Narzikulov, expert from the Center for Studying the Future: "Marriage Soviet-Style. This Year's First Federation Council Sitting Has Already Taken Place"]

[Text]

A. Akayev (president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan): "You Can't Survive on Your Own"

Kyrgyzstan favors signing the Union Treaty and for many reasons. We belong to the bloc of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, since a multilateral treaty on the region's socioeconomic development was concluded between us back in 1990. Our positions coincide in many respects. Furthermore, the republics are also united by the fact that the whole economy is principally geared toward the production of raw materials. It is well known that this is an unprofitable business given the currently prevailing prices. You can't survive on your own.

Personally I am satisfied that the Federation Council sitting passed off in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The republics managed to arrive at a consensus on the agreement's fundamental questions. Certainty has emerged that the agreement will be signed by all the republics in the next few days. And this in turn will open up the opportunity to formulate the plan and budget for 1991 in January.

However, as I see it, it is easier to arrive at the Union Treaty in two stages: First, signing the economic agreement, and after that the political agreement. I upheld this viewpoint at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

N. Dementey (Belorussian Supreme Soviet chairman): "We Will Live Even More Frugally"

[Dementey] We met frequently and for a long time. The meetings were varied. We argued a lot, did not agree with each other, and almost reached discord... But life made us look at things in another way and overcome parochialism and egoism. The main conclusion, in my view, is now a very sensible and humane one—let's lead a frugal, an even more frugal life, but also a more peaceful one. This was eventually grasped by representatives of all the republics.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But contrasts still remain...

[Dementey] They do. However, the policy is one of ironing out contrasts. The main question is budget deficits. Each region has its own. But it was decided to equalize the deficit, and experts are now working on this global problem.

Nor can I fail to note the moral sense of our talks and decisions. A high price had to be paid for understanding—everybody now acknowledges this. Responsibility to the people and to each other is the basis, and future relations can be built on this basis alone.

Forecast

Who is now in favor of a Union Treaty being concluded immediately? The Central Asian republics. Who rejects it? The Baltic republics together with Georgia. The remaining republics are more cagey, but nonetheless Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan are not especially keen on living as a community. The most interesting point in these different positions is that they mirror the Union republics' level of economic potential.

The quantity of equipment per employed worker in the Baltic region is almost double that in Central Asia (excluding Turkmenia). As there is more capital in the European part, the return is higher: For example, Latvia's national income per capita was three times that of Tajikistan. The level of development (in other words the share of industry in production) fluctuates from a maximum of 45.1 percent (Estonia) to a minimum of 14.4 percent (Turkmenia).

According to this indicator of economic development, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have now slipped to the 1960 level and Turkmenia to the level of the fifties. Matters deteriorated everywhere after 1985, but worst of all in the three republics of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia.

The "rich North" does not want to feed the "poor South." Today Russia uses 68 percent of its national income for personal consumption, Latvia uses 79 percent, Moldova 87 percent, and Tajikistan... 105 percent. At the same time it has the lowest living standard in the country. The backwardness of our South was programmed from the start when, at the time of universal industrialization, the fathers of Soviet planning determined that Central Asia should be a supplier of cotton.

How can both North and South get along in the same Union harness if the treaty is nevertheless signed?

The Baltic region already pursues an independent economic policy now. Estonia recently demonstrated this, by simultaneously increasing prices and wages. Such action is nothing but lowering the exchange rate of the 'Estonian ruble' in relation to the Union ruble. This will possibly guarantee a flood of goods into the republic. Only its dependence on raw materials stops it from seceding from the Union completely.

Along with the independent Baltic region, there is a group of republics which, it would seem, do not reject a Union Treaty but also do not agree with the center's version. These republics have both their own raw materials and a developed industry. Very soon their leaderships will become more determined to put an end to the redistribution of finances to the benefit of poor relations. If the president takes a tough stance on this question, the situation could reach a deadlock.

What are the Central Asian republics supposed to do then? Not having a developed industry, they now find themselves in the role of suppliants. If financial infusions are sharply cut, the local population will find itself on the brink of starvation; cotton has squeezed the production of foodstuffs out of the agricultural economy.

Starvation increases the probability of a transfer of political power into the hands of informal groups united on the basis of ethnic origin and religion. They could quite possibly be supported by numerous rural inhabitants, easily susceptible to rule according to the Shari'ah codes. There could be a spontaneous hunger revolt. It is hard to guess whom the people's anger will elevate to the throne.

It is now cheaper to help Central Asia get on its feet than to have a bleeding wound of constant instability close to home. Aid does not necessarily mean money and resources, world economic practice knows other and subtler methods of support.

The totalitarian state's debts will have to be paid off for a long time yet. No instant changes should be expected.

Glasnost Part of Ideological 'Civil War'

PM0901160991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 91 Second Edition pp 3, 4

[Article by Oleg Gusarevich, mechanic at the "50th Anniversary of October" Kolkhoz in Livenskiy Rayon, Orlov Oblast, under "Hard-hitting View" rubric: "'Hand

Out the Shells, Lieutenant Golitsyn...' Is Revolutionary Romanticism Being Replaced by White-Guardist Romanticism?"]

[Text] Glasnost is one of perestroyka's achievements. It is acknowledged that it has no limits, but has it any defects? This question is not asked, and the impression is given that glasnost is perfect...

I want to share one observation here. When speaking of the crimes of Stalinism, television sometimes accompanies this gloom with fine Russian music. At first I did not understand what this combination meant, but then I remembered...

My mother was a nurse. As a child I often went with her to the polyclinic, and I remember her treating alcoholics. The patient would drink vodka. She gave him an injection, and he vomited. Later, I learned that this is a conditioned reflex: The emetic provokes a strong revulsion toward alcohol. Hasn't this trick, I thought, been enlisted by some television programs: a combination of talk about crimes with immortal Russian music. Does it not have the purpose of provoking revulsion to everything Russian?

Our state system, including the Army and the KGB, is regularly criticized mercilessly in the press and on television. Yes, these institutions have been hit by crisis, just like the whole of society. But the criticism is by no means aimed at getting them out of crisis. On the contrary. Suffice it to remember the recent stubborn rumors about the inevitability of a military coup. Recall that the Supreme Soviet kicked up a pretty good ruckus and stood the minister of defense to attention, demanding that he answer what troops were moving toward Moscow and swear that this was not a military coup. The minister confirmed that it was the army going to dig potatoes.

The KGB also carries out orders, and this means that it must deal with the orders and those who give them; but something else is happening. Recently, in the "Vzglyad" program, the presenter, a Russian people's deputy, managed to get leading KGB personnel to disclose their numbers. The Supreme Soviet and the government determine what information is to be secret, and legislators extort this information in front of millions of viewers. Spectacles like these play to encores. This is not criticism, it is persecution, and deliberate destruction of the bases of the state.

And after all, even Sakharov, a great expert on and opponent of the KGB, said that this institution is the least affected of all by corruption and therefore is fundamentally a healthy organization. So what is this about?

Things become clear when you look at the transition to market relations, and the hopes of those who are even now looking forward to controlling the economic levers of power. The newspaper KOMMERSANT recently reported that Sergey Stankevich, deputy mayor of Moscow—I quote—"recently received in the White Hall a delegation of descendants of a Russian noble family, the Golovins, whose 600th anniversary was recently marked by the municipalities of Moscow and Leningrad. During the meeting Stankevich made a sensational statement, proposing to compensate some families of the Moscow nobility for property they lost as a result of the well-known events of 1917." And a descendant of the Counts Sherememetev replied to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's question, "What does Russia look to him in an ideal version?" "I hope that the changes in the Union reach their logical conclusion."

Indeed, our changes are coinciding with the logic of the Sheremetevs, the Golovins, and the trade mafia: Private ownership of the means of production is returning; it has been declared sacred and inviolable; and we are moving toward private ownership of land. At the same time, the opinion of the people themselves remains unknown.

But after all, neither the army, nor the KGB for all its shortcomings and even defects, will stand up today for the interests of the Sheremetevs and Golovins, or for the claims of the shadow economy, even if those people become the lawful masters of the market. This is why they are being persecuted. The Army, they claim, is promoting the defense of the people's poverty against wealth. And they hope instead to create a new, hired army, fulfilling the will of those who will have the new economic power. Isn't this where the notorious deputies' "potato coup" spectacle comes from, a graphic lesson in training for the new procedures?

Something similar can be seen too in the attitude of our "radicals" to the CPSU. The pretext for persecuting the party is its numerous mistakes, but the true cause is nevertheless the fact that it so far remains the one party of the working people. True, it is not fulfilling this duty very well, but for those who persecute it, it should be performing it even worse, or not at all. The voice of the working man has drowned in the multivoiced chorus of liberals, conservatives, monarchists, anarchists, and so forth. The party has to all intents and purposes handed the mass media over to its opponents. The working man is going to have to go into the labor market, and the organizers of the market will have to worry about gruel for the unemployed. The radical press and some employees of television are doing all this to drive the CPSU underground. This, they say, is the will of the market: All the developed countries have been through this stage.

What place have the initiators of market reform allotted the people? IZVESTIYA wrote 3 September 1990 about how two "opposing groups" clashed in Yaroslavl. One group were gypsies, who trade in cigarettes at three rubles a packet and live in their own houses on big money, and the other group were Russians, who work in factories and struggle from one pay packet to the next. The gypsies opened fire and three men were killed and one seriously wounded. Yaroslavl demanded that the raiders clear out of town; the gypsies left, leaving their houses and paying R10,000 for the funerals. The correspondent looked into the eyes of the gypsies and

remarked that that day, when they were going away, they had such sad eyes, but that the previous day, when they were trading carefree, holding the market in their hands, they had looked so happy. The correspondent did not look into the eyes of the women who had lost their sons. He emphasizes the ethnic side of this clash. But it is not difficult to understand that this was the market shooting at its opponents, who believe that one should live by one's own labor, and maybe even at its competitors. But what will happen when power passes into the hands of those who trade not in cigarettes, but in tanks? They tell us philanthropy will flourish from this, homes for the homeless will appear, the unemployed will be fed, and so forth. Oh yeah? In vain a researcher like Doctor of Philosophy E. Volodin believes (LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA No.41, 1990) that "the authors of the capitalization project (this is what Volodin calls the "500 Days" program) have thrown out the doctrine of classes as outdated. And they did so hastily." Persecution of the Russian people, the Army, the KGB, and the Communist Party is also class war, after all. Turn on the television and you will see a well-known singer, and hear:

"Hand out the cartridges, Lieutenant Golitsyn,

Put on your ribbons, Cornet Obolenskiy!"

This is the replacement of revolutionary romanticism by the White-Guard romanticism of the former landowners. Another singer in an undershirt and general's breeches sings about the notebook of a proud general who was shot, and the unbending courage of the White Guards. For two years our literature has been emigre literature, and there is apparently no longer room for non-emigres in our journals. Newspapers inflame minds with articles about communist cruelties in the Civil War, torn out from the context of the war itself and from the context of history. The "proletariat's righteous hatred" has been replaced by the hatred of the owning classes. Class polarity has changed poles. The bitter truism of the eternally living class doctrine comes to mind. It turns out that it is once more alive. Glasnost has been accompanied by talk of the prevalence of panhuman values over class values. And now the authors of capitalization projects, it turns out, have not thrown out the classes doctrine at all.

A civil war is to all intents and purposes going on in the press, on television, and in the Supreme Soviets. Before glasnost we knew precious little about people from alien planets, and now they feature in television programs. In the fall, I recall, they showed one alien who stood in a potato field up to his knees in mud, irritably trying to show what a state collective ownership had brought people to on earth. "If the land were in private hands," he said, in a perfectly comprehensible language, "then the city would not have to go digging potatoes." One really must drop down from the moon to see the cause of the decline of the countryside. It is not in the fact that it has remained without roads, without gas, and without normal human conditions, and that its mercilessness exploitation by the city is continuing, but that there is no private ownership of land, which the people have not had for virtually a thousand years. He did not say that even in Holland in the sort of weather we are having this year the army is having to save the harvest with its spades. The "visitor" turned out to be the 60-year-old premier of Russia, Ivan Silayev. And he had landed on earth from the asphalt world of Moscow.

But perhaps the civil war has only affected the foundations of the state, and in everyday life panhuman values hold sway over class values? Let us look.

Many, thanks to glasnost, have found out about prostitution, drug addiction, pornography, and crime. But these, I think, are people who did not want to know anything other than their own four walls. I remember representatives of the oldest profession arriving in Murmansk from Leningrad in the fifties and sixties. They would set up shop in an apartment in our block on the first floor, clean out the sailors on shore leave, and leave again in the fall. Eventually the local prostitutes squeezed out the newcomers. But before glasnost this was considered a disgrace, and they tried to remain in the shadows. People's instinct for self-preservation operated. Glasnost gave them freedom and publicity, and they came out of the underground. Moscow schoolgirls, in reply to the questionnaire question "What profession do you consider prestigious?" now list prostitution among others. And KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Yumashev interviews them, and they say that they swap sexual partners. The newspaper drools over the details of this... oh, so liberated... oh, so emancipated life-style of theirs. Such articles are good for boosting circulation. But how do they influence the younger generation? This question is not asked; it is not a "market question."

Another influential newspaper—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—featured a letter from a young woman who could not feed her children on the 180-ruble pay packet of her husband alone; she was desperate and ready to become a prostitute but could not take the first step. The newspapers and the television are helping her to take that first step...

So, the soaring rise of crime, prostitution, pornography, and violence—this is market values holding sway over panhuman values, this is also civil war, these are "stages of the long road" turning toward makingthe market irreversible. So far advocates of transition to the market are waging a "cold" civil war. Now we must see that it does not become a hot war. This is being promoted by the church, and increasingly gaining influence. Whose side it will be on is not yet clear. But the first person to congratulate Yeltsin in the Russian parliament on his leaving the party was a priest. He blessed him for this step, and called it courageous. This means that some members of the priesthood not only do not consider the church separate from the state, but even do not separate themselves from the problems of the CPSU, blessing its collapse.

Extracting the truth has always been a labor-intensive task. It has been proclaimed in the past by Christ, Muhammad, and Buddha and by their disciples and prophets. Then the truth became accessible to mortals, it was gained through talent and was the struggle of an entire lifetime. Such people were few: Gogol, Tolstoy, Chekhov... Then the party of the progressive class assumed the task of telling the people the truth on the basis of a progressive science of society. But glasnost, perestroyka, and technical progress have carried out a revolution in this matter. Now a television set can at its own discretion call 100 million people "pigheaded" because they relate to land ownership in their own way—and tough luck if you don't like it!

The press constantly notes that at congresses and supreme soviet sessions "emotions boil over." "Emotions," translated from the French, are feelings. Perhaps the legislators' feelings of moderation or responsibility, or their respect for one another boiled over? Surely you cannot have too much of these feelings! And is it not because of this "boiling over" that many extremely important decisions, including transition to the market, are being adopted under the influence of mutual annoyance, impatience of different opinions, and hatred? That is the same class hatred which we curse, but which is alive and kicking nonetheless.

Of course, conviction and consistency and firmness of spirit are necessary to make important decisions, but they should resemble the burnished steel sheathed in the scabbard on which is written: "Not to be withdrawn without need; not to be replaced without glory."

At one time the party top cats, in the struggle for power, unscrupulous of their means, instead of the class consciousness of the workers unleashed class intolerance, class hatred, and even class brutality—and the result was the dictatorship of the thug. Now once again intolerance has appeared in our path, but now the opposing sides have changed places.

So then, what is glasnost? It originated as freedom of speech, and talked big about itself. It even seemed that it was perfect. But gradually the attitude toward it has changed. What has happened to it? Instead of the culture of the people, "liberation and emancipation" came to the center of attention, developing into dissoluteness and permissiveness. Glasnost is increasingly becoming an instrument of civil war. This is no longer freedom of speech, but the owning classes' means of ideological coercion. And public awareness is beginning to react to this glasnost as a lie. Where will we be then?

Economic Committee Chief on Market Issues

PM0901151091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with V. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, by PRAVDA parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich; date, place of interview not stated: "From Debates to Action. Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies: Decisions and Prospects"]

[Text] The work of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the decisions and resolutions it adopted prompted a wide response both at home and abroad. We are all concerned to see what will result from their implementation and what new potential the Congress has found here. These problems are the subject of a dialogue between V. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, and PRAVDA parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich.

[Buzhkevich] In the press in our country and abroad, different opinions are being expressed on the results of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies. In general everyone agrees that it was an important event in the life of the country and society, which will affect the course of subsequent events in connection with the stabilization of the national economy, the transition to a market economy, and the formulation of a new Union Treaty. Some people think that favorable conditions are being created for resolving these problems. Others are skeptical about that view, predicting a stepping up of negative processes that could lead to economic disaster and the disintegration of our state into separate republics. What is your view, Valentin Mikhaylovich, of the results of the Congress? Are the economic recovery measures it formulated, some of which are already reflected in decrees published by the president, adequate?

[Vologzhin] To answer that question, it is useful to make a brief excursion into the past years of perestroyka. In that time there have been many important changes. First and foremost in the public consciousness. Let me remind you how the majority rejected the question of differentiating ownership and introducing new forms. Many people thought that this would undermine the very foundations of our state. And today? I am sure no one disputes the usefulness of the law on ownership, introducing individual, family, collective, and other forms of ownership in addition to the old form of state ownership. Private ownership is recognized in the laws of a number of republics.

At one time economic autonomy for the republics was denied in our country. Now it has become a reality, because that autonomy is recognized in the republics' sovereignty declarations and a whole series of Union legislative acts. Not all politicians and economists share a unanimous view of the realities thus achieved. Some think that this step was necessary but was carried out prematurely, others that it was carried out incompetently, and others that it is just another mistake.

Furthermore, we used to categorically reject the market economy, regarding it as incompatible with the very idea of socialism. But recently the country's parliament approved the basic guidelines for stabilization of the national economy and the transition to the market. Concrete programs have been drawn up and are being

implemented in the republics. And it is very important to note that public opinion itself now supports the switch to the market, seeing it as an admittedly painful path, but the only path, to the country's rebirth.

[Buzhkevich] Both the basic guidelines for stabilization of the national economy and the transition to the market and a series of laws adopted by the Union and republic parliaments constitute a legal basis for market relations. But we do not yet have the necessary mechanisms for realizing this potential. An example is the lack of laws on entrepreneurship. What should people do if they want to embark on the path of market relations as soon as possible? They have to become legal entities—individually or as collectives. There will be millions of these. A conflict arises: There are people who want to work in the new conditions, there is a program of economic measures to that end, but there are no opportunities. A strange situation, isn't it?

[Vologzhin] Yes, we are facing a new contradiction. Because the new developing economic relations, backed up by laws, have been overshadowed by the political struggle. The power struggle at every level—from top to bottom. And this struggle is becoming increasingly heated. A new war has broken out—the "budget war." At first glance, a purely economic phenomenon. But in practice, an instrument of political pressure: Who will prevail! And characteristically, the political struggle in civilized countries is waged through improving the population's situation—that is how the various parties and groups win prestige. In our country, the reverse is true: This struggle has broken out against the background of a constant deterioration in the working people's life. And that creates the illusion that a way out of the crisis is to halt the perestroyka process and wait for the rear to catch up.

In this sense the Fourth Congress highlighted the positions of left, right, and center. All of them—this is not only my opinion, but also that of many of my colleagues—realized that to continue rocking the boat is dangerous, it is time to pool our efforts to level it, stabilize it, and set a safe course along the route of perestroyka. And this consolidation, admittedly still very fragile, began to take shape at the Congress.

[Buzhkevich] Recently there have been frequent calls for the strengthening of a strong center and a strong presidential power. The formation of a Cabinet of Ministers under the president's auspices should be a step in this direction. You remember, at parliamentary sessions last year there were very frequent demands for the Union Council of Ministers to resign. That demand was also heard at rallies and in appeals from various social groups and newborn parties. Some people were certain that if the Ryzhkov cabinet resigned, all the barriers in the path of economic transformations would be removed. In fact everything is far more complex. No one denies that the Council of Ministers has shown a lack of resolution and consistency and has sometimes adopted erroneous decisions. But it is only a component, though an important one, of the executive authority.

[Vologzhin] Agreed, but I would like to add this. The struggle for absolute sovereignties has markedly weakened this executive authority. The country's Council of Ministers has come under rigorous and not always justified monitoring by parliament—it literally cannot take a single step without parliament's "blessing." And the soviets at all levels have made the work of their ispolkoms [executive committees] as difficult as possible. In fact, during the transition to the market, a strong executive authority is needed. And if you ask them to manage the economy, you should not then hamper them.

[Buzhkevich] I would then like to ask: What are the main tasks you see for the president's Cabinet of Ministers? What should be the new elements in its work?

[Vologzhin] We know how the old Council of Ministers operated. Its leaders regarded strict, authoritarian control of the entire economy as their main task. They decided what should be produced, how much of it, and by whom, sometimes without reckoning with the potential of the sectors and their enterprises. And that is very important. You could, for instance, have instructed Uralmash to build the huge Ruslan aircraft. And they would have built it. But the question is: Would it have flown?

The new Cabinet of Ministers must operate differently. I think it is time to give the enterprises their freedom. They should have confidence in the laws and mechanisms for their implementation, so as to be able to plan their own development. We must help them by creating the optimum economic conditions, rather than controlling them and giving orders. A favorable atmosphere for entrepreneurial activity should be developed as quickly as possible.

Among the many other important tasks, I would single out first and foremost concern for small enterprises, so-called small businesses. You may ask, why this specifically?

Let us look at world practice. In every country with a market economy, output from small enterprises with between 1 and 500 workers accounts for 50 percent of the GNP or more. But that requires state support and the formation of the necessary structures in government organs. In the U.S. Congress, for instance, problems of small business development are dealt with by special committees. The federal budget includes an item on expenditure to help this type of business. Furthermore some 600 private funds exist, whose capital amounts to approximately $4 billion, as well as more than 400 finance companies with mixed capital.

Or take Japan. There, immediately after the end of World War II they started devoting attention and support to small enterprises. It was the development of a network of such enterprises that ensured the upsurge in

production and product quality and formed one of the components of the "Japanese miracle"—enormous success in all spheres of industry, electronics, consumer goods, and so forth. Here too state support for small businesses played an important part.

[Buzhkevich] There are frequent reports in the press on the formation of small enterprises in our country. Most commonly these are production shops that have separated from their "overlord"—a large association. But many of them barely stay afloat, and some rapidly go bust. The same happens with trade and public catering enterprises. Abroad, incidentally, they flourish, as I observed a few months ago in Chile, yet in our country they wither.

[Vologzhin] The answer is simple: In our country small business is not yet assessed at its full worth, and it is not yet an important avenue in state policy. Hence unjustified steps like separating a shop from a large plant to turn it into a small enterprise effectively remaining economically fettered.

Yet the development of small business is an autonomous avenue in the economy, has its own specific features, and requires different approaches and personnel training. It is important to channel efforts into the emergence of millions of new legal entities, which will result in success, because small enterprises begin to show a return in a short space of time.

As you can see, their role in the formation of market relations is very important. That is why I think this problem should be a priority for the Cabinet of Ministers, and also for all the executive power structures. A start should probably be made with the spheres of services, trade, and enterprises producing consumer goods.

[Buzhkevich] There is much talk about privatization at the moment. Unfortunately, things have not yet gotten much further than talk. There are various approaches. One of your colleagues, for instance, thinks that first of all, loss-making and technologically backward enterprises should be sold off. Big new private enterprises, in his opinion, can only be created with the help of private capital. If there is a homegrown Rockefeller, for instance, let him build another Uralmash or Kirovskiy Zavod with his own money. What is your view on this problem?

[Vologzhin] Various privatization programs are now being drawn up. In particular, this is being done at the USSR Council of Ministers and the republic Councils of Ministers. There are plans at Moscow City Soviet for the privatization of enterprises in trade, public catering, the service sphere, and so forth. This is a complex but inevitable development, since we are moving toward the market. After all, it is not right for more than 90 percent of enterprises in the country still to be in the hands of the state. In civilized countries that figure varies between five and 30 percent.

The process of dismantling state ownership and privatizing state property is difficult and long. It requires the creation of certain preconditions. That is why it is important to have a clear, substantiated program in every republic, oblast, city, and rayon.

As for the priorities in privatizing enterprises that are in the hands of the state, here I have my own opinion. It seems to me that first of all the plants and factories that are running well should be privatized. The small ones, of course. At these enterprises the production process is well-oiled, they are experiencing no particular difficulties, and the social protection of the workers is well secured. Why, one wonders, should the state worry about them: Part of their profit will enter the budget anyway. But the unprofitable or loss-making enterprises will not find their feet without the help of the republics or the Union. As I have said, they should be the concern of the presidential Cabinet of Ministers and other organs of executive authority.

Reforms in Local Government Structure Urged

PM0801141991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Korneyev, chairman of Kalininskiy Rayon Soviet, and G. Layevskiy, chairman of Kalininskiy Rayon Soviet Legality and Law and Order Commission: "Rivals or Colleagues? The Effectiveness of the Power of the Soviets Depends on the Answer to This Question..."]

[Text] Moscow—The first steps of the newly elected soviets have clearly shown that, despite their existence for 70 years, as organs of political power they cannot manage the national economy or resolve acute social problems.

As a result, the new local soviets mainly operate by trial and error. This is an unaffordable luxury given the strained situation in the country.

At present there is no system of cooperation between local soviets and ispolkoms [executive committees]. Local soviets have no real possibility either of influencing the elaboration of ispolkoms' managerial decisions or of monitoring their fulfillment. An abnormal situation arises—a kind of competition between the local soviet chairman and the ispolkom chairman for the priority of the decisions adopted. At the same time there is no mechanism of personal responsibility either.

As a result, it turns out that in practice there is no single boss in the rayons, and how can there be if the rayon ispolkom is directly subordinate both to the soviet and to the higher executive and administrative organ? At the same time it would seem that the ispolkom has the right independently to resolve all questions under the soviet's jurisdiction. That is, the question of accurately and unambiguously dividing the managerial and executive functions of the organs of Soviet power is a very serious problem.

In our view, regularizing the activity of the people's power, includes replacing the existing ispolkoms with a soviet executive board [direktsiya] headed by a general director who is, at the same time, deputy chairman of the local soviet. This is not just a replacement of one name by another but a serious functional perestroyka of the local soviet's executive and administrative organ's activity. In addition, arranging a reliable interconnection and coordinating activity, we should examine the question of creating an executive administration board to incorporate an organizational department and a juridical service.

The creation of a special juridical service is particularly topical today, for we can combine the constant renewability of the corps of deputies with highly effective decisionmaking only if there is a permanently operating juridical service ensuring the competent resolution of various social questions. The lack of an adequate number of specialists in various spheres of the national economy among the deputies significantly hampers the process of the professional and prompt resolution of the tremendous stream of complaints and suggestions coming in from voters.

There is another, no less acute problem. It concerns the deteriorating ability to ensure country citizens' safety both in the streets and in their own homes against threats that have recently been increasingly categorical. Specialists are arguing today over whether the energies devoted to the fight against crime can be expected to diminish in the next few years. We believe that it is hardly possible to expect—at least in the next two-three years, during a "critical period" for the whole of society—the stabilization given the present measures being taken by internal affairs organs to ensure public order and the safety of citizens' life and property. Moreover, the situation could be exacerbated if we do not surmount such barriers as the departmental dissipation of efforts in this area, sluggishness, and the constant lagging behind rapidly developing reality.

We believe that there is a way out. It is only possible to struggle successfully against the abrupt surge in antisocial and criminal manifestations given the speediest creation of a city militia under the direct control of the local soviets—well equipped, maneuverable, and capable of a rapid operational response. The resolution of this question brooks no delay. Much time has been lost. Incidentally, the speediest professional assistance of juridical science is also needed in elaborating the basic principles of the city militia's activity and its composition, aims, and tasks.

Committee on Labor Clarifies 7 January Position

PM0801143091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed announcement: "At the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems"]

[Text]The declaration by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Georgian SSR, and Moldova SSR Supreme Soviets states that 7 January (Christmas Day) is to be a nonworking day (holiday), the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems offers the following clarification:

1. In accordance with Article 31 of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on labor, the republics in question work will —for production and technical reasons (continuous output enterprises, institutions, and organizations),—not suspend work that serves the population—including urgent repairs and loading and unloading work—on 7 January.

On this day work may also be carried out at enterprises, institutions, and organizations decideds adopted by labor collectives in the light of national, religious, or other traditions.

2. In accordance with current labor legislation, work on 7 January may, by agreement between the parties, be recompensed by a day off in lieu or in monetary form by paying double time. If the worker so wishes, this day may be added to annual leave and remunerated at the same rate as leave days.

3. Concerning the introduction of an extra nonworking day (holiday), the norm for working time in the corresponding accounting period and the calendar year as a whole is decreased.

Europeans Aid Computerization of Medical Records

PM0801154391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Jan 91

[Report by A. Parfenenkov and V. Leyzerov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A new system to provide patient medical supervision has been introduced in Tula. It is a joint development formulated by physicians and specialists from the Soviet-Franco-Italian firm "Interquadro."

[Reporter] "Interquadro" is engaged in programming and in the introduction of modern computer systems. The firm operates on a turnkey basis. You get what you order. But in this case it is a question of joint creative activity. Tula's physicians have become the coauthors together with engineers and programmers in formulating an original system of patient registration at the oblast hospital. A routine and extremely tedious job is becoming a thing of the past. Cumbersome card indexes with thick volumes of patient histories are giving way to computers. Data which a medic either kept in his head after an operation or simply forgot is being stored in their memory. So, what does this system give the medic and—and this is the main thing—what does it give the patient?

[V.V. Veshchenko, Tula Oblast chief surgeon] The system above all provides the medic with reliable information about the patient and, on the basis of and armed with this reliable information, the physician can carry out a reliable analysis of both a specific patient and a group of patients.

[Reporter] How will this system develop in the future?

[M.N. Truskov, "Interquadro" leading scientific staffer] Whereas now this system constitutes in general an automated workplace for a surgeon on a specific ward, in the future it will provide an automated workplace that will allow both the ward head and the house surgeon to work in any ward in a general hospital.

[Reporter] The Tula Oblast Hospital has no shortage of physicians. So how will you be able to find a common language with them?

[Truskov] Ideas are literally being generated every day and the results of our work are demanded more rapidly. I see how much people need this.

[Reporter] The "Interquadro" firm's clients include—in addition to the physicians who cannot of course afford many specimens of contemporary imported equipment—numerous enterprises in Tula, mainly defense enterprises.

[Veshchenko] We appreciate the fact that we have a real rather than a pro forma patron.

Rotation of Supreme Soviet Deputies Assessed

PM1001093791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by S. Karkhanin on interview with N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management; place and date not given: "Right to Vote: Results of the First Rotation of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] On Tuesday the USSR Supreme Soviet resumes its fourth session in its renewed form. Against the background of the tumultuous events of the previous Congress, the rotation of deputies passed without particular incident even though the effectiveness of parliamentary legislation will largely depend on it. N.D. Pivovarov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, now considers who lost the right to vote at deputies' sessions and why, and who gained the right to vote:

The idea of rotation, as is well known, is that during a 5-year period the majority of USSR people's deputies should have had an opportunity to work on the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. Incidentally, this system is unknown either in the outside world or in our country's experience. Some 18 months ago it was expected that 108 deputies would need to be replaced, but life has shown otherwise. It seems that no one expected that there would be 186 applications from people wanting to be released from full-time work in the Supreme Soviet. I and many of my colleagues regret the fact that people well known nationally and active in legislative activity should take that decision, people such as I. Zelinskiy, N. Pribylova, S. Khadzhiyev, A. Yemelyanov, M. Rakhimov...

Why did they resign? The reasons vary. Some of them were in the Supreme Soviet while still performing their main duties in production and scientific centers and have now decided to concentrate entirely on those duties in their labor collectives. I would note that S. Khadzhiyev recently became a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and V.I. Postnikov has returned to the management of the "Stavropolskoye" broiler association. Some found work in the Supreme Soviet too difficult. Well, that too is understandable: Our time here is extremely tight and there may be a shortage of economic or legal training, too. The physical and mental workload is great...

That is true of those who resigned of their own accord. However, there were disputed cases. I have in mind the circumstances surrounding the cases of N. Piryazeva, V. Yarin, and N. Kostishin. The question of removing them from the Supreme Soviet was raised by deputies from Novosibirsk and Sverdlovsk Oblasts and Moldova. But the Congress did not support those suggestions. All three are workers who are frequent and constructive contributors to sessions, are active on commissions, and carry out the voters' mandate. And in my view it was quite right that our Congress defended them. I would note that the deputies groups attributed their proposals to the need to enable all the envoys of a region to be schooled in the Supreme Soviet's ways. But let us not forget: Rotation is also a struggle for power. And the various groups showed their attitudes to the different deputies... In my opinion, the present rotation of deputies has shown for the first time how groups and political parties influence the arrangement of forces in parliament.

It is here, it seems to me, that one should seek the reason for the failure of certain deputies who ran at the Congress as candidates to the new Supreme Soviet. A. Obolenskiy and G. Starovoytova did not secure the necessary number of votes, I think, because deputies took into account the positions of the parties and groups. And people voted perhaps mainly against the platform of the candidates named. Incidentally, this confirms yet again that the next union elections will clearly be held on the basis of different party lists.

The "chance notoriety factor" played a definite role here, too. Why, for example, was Yu. Chemodanov from the Mary Republic not elected? Many people will remember his name from the first Congress when there was quite a lot of talk about him. On this occasion he was

probably crossed off the ballot paper precisely because people remembered his name even though they didn't know the man at all.

Many people are asking me why well-known Tula Oblast Soviet Chairman V.A. Starodubtsev was not elected even though they didn't mean him at all but D.A. Starodubtsev, a deputy from Yaroslavl Oblast...

Now a few words about those who were elected and did win the right to vote in the Supreme Soviet. First, there were deputies who had already worked in the parliament although they had not previously been members of it. People such as A. Krayko, A. Dzasokhov, Yu. Krasilnikov, V. Belyayev, V. Semenko, V. Valov, V. Lisitskiy, A. Chekhoyev, and A. Orlov. Second, there were the newcomers, mainly from industry. I think that they will bring to our activity their knowledge of life, the atmosphere in the labor collective, and people's feelings and will suggest ways of "reviving" laws that have already been adopted.

I would rate the results of the rotation like this: It will be better next time, and the Supreme Soviet has not been weakened by it. It combines the legislative experience of those who remain with the fresh ideas of those who have joined. Parliament's intellectual potential has been sustained, the number of workers has increased—I consider that a positive factor. Admittedly there are fewer soviet leaders, although there is an important reason for that: It is virtually impossible to combine the duties of being a member of the country's Supreme Soviet with the post of head of a republic parliament. There is another plus factor—the average age of our Supreme Soviet has fallen markedly as a result of an influx of young deputies. The number of agrarian workers has fallen; but I think that ultimately it is not a matter of arithmetic. People were not elected because of the post they held. Activeness and determination are far more important. Sometimes a resourceful deputy who is knowledgeable on agriculture can be more helpful in the Supreme Soviet than a whole group of people. Of course it would be good for a main sector to be represented more significantly, but even so it is no great tragedy, I think.

It must be said that some agrarian specialists chose to leave the Supreme Soviet simply because they found two successive shifts in the field easier than a whole day's session in the Supreme Soviet hall. I myself used to be a mine foreman and I understand that well... So it was not a question of disillusionment. It is simply that you have to enjoy your work. And I am sure that many deputies who have returned to production will come to Moscow when necessary to address sessions and help our commissions.

What lessons are to be learned from the rotation exercise? In my view, the representation quotas of deputies in the Supreme Soviet must be observed in terms not only of republics but also of krays and oblasts. What has happened now is that Rostov Oblast, Krasnodar Kray, and a number of other places were short-changed here. This is a very serious problem during the present "parade of sovereignties." Especially since the role of territorial deputies' groups is increasing. It is illogical when we are giving republic parliaments work to do with USSR people's deputies. Even if territorial deputations remain the ultimate basis on questions of rotation, the Congress will decide whether to agree with them.

There is another point. Some resignations from the Supreme Soviet were handed in several months ago. Why not examine them without waiting for the next Congress? In principle the Supreme Soviet has that right: just remember, for example, how we appointed deputies as ministers. It must be borne in mind, however, that when releasing someone from his duties as a member of parliament it is necessary to adjust the numerical strength because then there will be fewer difficulties over the quorum. Recent sessions were attended by 380-400 deputies, which means that almost 150 deputies did not come to work in the Kremlin for some reason or other...

Active work may be expected from the new Supreme Soviet. Next week we will probably discuss the drafts of the State Plan and the USSR budget for 1991, which for the first time will embrace only those spheres financed from the union budget—fundamental science, defense, security, space, transport, power, and the state apparatus. Questions of financial contributions to the Union will be in the Union Treaty. We shall be giving a second reading to the law on employment and the timetable and procedure for a referendum on the Union and the private ownership of land. I think that the Supreme Soviet is going to discuss the problems of the Persian Gulf situation and changes in the government. I believe that in the near future a decision will have to be made on the indexation of incomes and compensation for price increases, otherwise the difficulties faced by the low-paid will be aggravated. The parliamentary vacation will last approximately from mid-January to mid-February.

Arbitration Chief on New Court

PM0901163191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with V.F. Yakovlev, former USSR minister of justice and recently appointed chairman of the USSR Supreme Court of Arbitration, by I. Zhagel; place and date not givend: "The Fight Between Excellent Laws and Good Ones Does Not Testify to Real Progress"]

[Text] During the last day of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, V.F. Yakovlev, former minister of justice, was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Court of Arbitration. Until that court is set up the responsibilities of the country's chief state arbiter have been placed on him. Our correspondent met with him and asked him to talk about the future development of the arbitration service and its tasks in the transitional period, marked by the mass violation of economic agreements and the breaking of ties between enterprises in different regions.

[Zhagel] Venyamin Fedorovich, the present crisis in the economy has primarily shown the low efficiency of the institutions that were created within its framework, including the State Board of Arbitration.

[Yakovlev] Indeed, the arbitration services today are not coping with the functions entrusted to them and their fight with the tyranny of suppliers can scarcely be called effective. There is nothing surprising in this: After all, the State Board of Arbitration was formed as an appendage to the administrative edict system and in its activity it relied primarily on plans elaborated in the center. Agreements were concluded, and it was determined who was guilty in conflict situations.

Naturally the ground is also being cut from under the feet of the arbitration board at the same time as the system of planned links is being destroyed. It can no longer fulfill its functions as consistently as before. And if you add the present confusion with the supremacy of union and republic laws, then the task of keeping the economy in an efficient state is made even more complex.

[Zhagel] Perhaps the arbitration board should cease to exist along with the administrative edict methods of running the economy?

[Yakovlev] Well, first of all, the state orders will be preserved for the time being with elements of old-style planning, and arbitration organs will be needed in their previous form. And second, the new economy will also be based on a specific legal procedure for concluding and implementing contracts.

It is clear that an executive authority should primarily make sure that these rules are being observed. And then behind it there should be an appropriate law enforcement and law administration system. This means that the task does not involve destroying the arbitration board—it is simply a question of transforming its functions so that it can call a violator to account, compensate for losses, and protect the interests of the injured party.

[Zhagel] And who is involved in resolving economic conflicts in other economically developed countries?

[Yakovlev] Sometimes the ordinary court is involved in this. But most often such questions are submitted to specialized arbitration-type courts.

Here there is no jury and there are no people's assessors, and only professional judges operate. And the procedure itself is somewhat simplified—arbitration procedure is usually employed, that is, the court does not decide immediately but encourages the sides to seek a compromise. And it is only if they do not manage to do this that the court decides.

It is interesting that such courts exist not only on a national but also on a supranational level. Naturally so since, after all, economics does not recognize borders and in time the need will inevitably arise to elaborate some kind of common rules for sides that interact with each other but are in different countries. The European Parliament is involved with this, for instance. In addition, there is what is known as the European Court, resolving conflict situations, including economic disputes, at supranational level.

It seems that we too should create such a system by transforming the arbitration board. The arbitration court must have its own authority at nationwide, republic, and oblast level, but they must all operate on the basis of common principles. I stress once again that instead of the notorious plans a legal foundation should be laid beneath all this.

[Zhagel] Obviously the arbitration board should not play a passive role in the elaboration of such a legal base but should take an active part in this, shouldn't it?

[Yakovlev] It is already participating, although insufficiently, to my mind. And after all, the arbitration board is the very organ that clearly proves whether the law is working or not. And if there are no disputes in the arbitration board concerning a particular law, then you can consider that law dead!

[Zhagel] That is an unusual point of view. We often think that the ideal law is the one that does not cause disputes.

[Yakovlev] There is no such thing as an ideal law. Even the best ones provoke arguments when applied to life, because it is much more varied that any regulation. Furthermore, there are various interpretations of laws and each of the sides in the dispute believes that it is the one that is interpreting the law correctly.

Incidentally, the arbitration board must not just be a place that examines disputes but also a special kind of sociological laboratory where laws are test-run by life. Therefore it is no accident that the USSR chief state arbiter, unlike the minister of justice, for instance, is endowed with legislative initiative, in other words, he has the right to introduce draft laws to the Supreme Soviet.

[Zhagel] From the point of view of the USSR state arbitrator, which laws should be adopted in our country in the near future, and what shortcomings in those that have already been adopted will prevent economic mutual relations from being normalized in the country's national economy?

[Yakovlev] As far as shortcomings are concerned, these exist in all new laws. And this is not connected with any of our legislators' professional qualities, but rather they result from the peculiarities of our swiftly changing life today. After all, only yesterday some of our views seemed revolutionary and today the opposite is true—they seem almost reactionary.

And I do not think that there is anything terrible in the fact that some of our laws seem a little outdated already. In any case, this is no reason to reject them. Otherwise we will never achieve a rule-of-law state and coercion will rule in our country.

A good example of this is the Union Law on Ownership. Now a great deal is being said about its being conservative and hindering progress. But we have not implemented even one-tenth of it yet. It seems that it is only when it is exhausted that we should reject it.

I think that essence of my unease is understandable. In this way we could practice lawmaking endlessly and excellent laws would fight with good ones, but in real life we would stay where we are. Let me stress again: A law cannot be considered conservative until it is fully implemented.

[Zhagel] And yet we desperately need certain new laws.

[Yakovlev] You are right. And we are primarily short of new civil legislation in the economy. Yes, after all, that is what regulates ownership relations in any civilized society and what determines the procedure for concluding economic agreements and responsibility for not fulfilling them, including the sale of property.

Unfortunately the existing civil legislation and republic civil codes were severely mutilated. Many fundamentally important provisions and many institutions that are necessary in the transfer to market relations were cut out of them. It is the absence of economic entities' rights and their necessary protection that is preventing us from transferring to the market and not, for instance, the lack of private ownership of means of production.

Unfortunately, apart from new civil legislation, there must be some other laws to regulate contract relations between individuals and enterprises. And it seems that our legislators must fill these very gaps today, having equipped us with the necessary legal instruments and not leaving us with the old executive orders, for instance the provision on supplies, published by the government god knows when, and the clearly outdated rules for a major construction contract and other such normative documents.

And then the main question: Will the new legal instruments operate on the whole country's territory?

If professional people become involved in this, they will find a common language. But under no circumstances must any sacrifices be made for the sake of politics.

It appears that it would be expedient to stipulate legislative guidelines in the economic sphere in the Union Treaty. Even if it is just in general terms. We must determine the institutions that could resolve any economic conflicts within the framework of a single economic space.

Economic

Worried Pensioners Reassured for 1991

914F0098A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Dec 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed article: "Pensions in the New Year"]

[Text] "Will I receive a pension in the new year?" Many people have been addressing that question to the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the USSR Armed Forces, State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the mass media. People are alarmed by the fact that, according to the USSR law "On Pension Security for Citizens in the USSR," beginning 1 January 1991 distribution of pensions will be financed by the USSR Pension Fund—a new and presently little-known organization created to replace the previous structures. And this uncertainty troubles the veterans.

"There are no grounds for alarm," said A.G. Solovyev, executive director of the USSR Pension Fund, to a TASS correspondent. "In accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers decree 'On the Organization of the USSR Pension Fund,' the administrative board and executive management have been created, as well as departments in the republics and branches in the krays and oblasts. So the working organs of the fund are ready for action. There is money: The USSR State Bank has given us a loan worth tens of millions of rubles for payment of pensions during the first months of the coming year. Furthermore, according to USSR legislation, the fund will be 'filled' this way: Every month enterprises should transfer 26 percent from their fund for payment of labor. Of that, 21 percent will go to the fund and five percent will pay allowances for temporary inability to work and for pregnancy and births as well as other needs of social insurance. Beginning 1 January 1991, all the country's citizens will be obligated to deduct one percent of their wages each month for pension security. I believe that the loan will be repaid quickly."

The fund's statute stipulates its commercial activity: Free money remaining after all settlements will not lie around like "dead weight" but will go to the purchase of shares, the distribution of loans at interest, etc. Profits from these operations, of course, will be used by decision of the government to render additional material aid to pensioners with minimal income.

At present nine republics have become participants in the USSR Pension Fund. Moldova and Georgia still have not decided. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are creating their own structures for provision of pensions. Russia, by decision of its parliament, is creating its own pension fund similar to the Union fund and, according to existing information, banks are also lending it material support. At the same time, I will note that the real-life experience of countries with a market economy shows that in a unified state there should be a unified system of pension security. Otherwise a mass of problems arise.

Presence of Rubles Abroad Clarified

914A0256A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 90 Union Edition p 7

[Interview with O. Mozhayskov, chief of currency administration of the USSR State Bank, by I. Zhagel

under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources"; place and date not given: "How Many Billions of Rubles Are Abroad?"]

[Text] **A recent short TASS report to the effect that payment documents (payment checks, bills of exchange, and guaranteed letters) worth tens and hundreds of billions of rubles are circulating abroad and that the USSR State Bank [Gosbank] is not obligated to honor them hardly dispelled the alarm that arose after a speech at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by V. Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, who talked about the leakage of securities and our currency abroad. In order to clarify the situation we turned to O. Mozhayskov, chief of the currency administration of the USSR Gosbank.**

[Zhagel] Oleg Vladimirovich, are there in fact securities disseminated by Soviet banks worth billions of rubles circulating abroad?

[Mozhayskov] Such instances exist, as they say, but it is practically impossible to name even an approximate total. The problem is that, in accordance with the rules we have adopted in our country, the export of such securities must be carried out with the permission of the USSR Gosbank. However, those securities we are speaking about ended up abroad without going through the Central Bank. Thus, we cannot monitor them or bear any responsibility for them.

[Zhagel] For what purposes are these payment documents printed?

[Mozhayskov] As a rule, they secure trade operations connected with the import of those goods in the shortest supply in our country, and they offer maximum—and in this instance one might say speculative—profits. That is the simplest picture. One or several enterprises deposit funds in rubles into a bank and receive the appropriate payment document, such as a bill of exchange. Then they take this security abroad and sell it to their foreign partners for hard currency. Goods are bought using these funds and brought into our country where they are sold for the highest possible prices. There are other versions.

[Zhagel] The interests of the Soviet participants in such operations are clear—their expenses are compensated. But why do foreigners buy these securities without guarantees on behalf of the USSR Gosbank?

[Mozhayskov] Some simply are not aware of the existing rules or are misinformed by our budding merchants. And some, one may say, are showing commercial aggressiveness with the hope that in time they will be able to request these sums in rubles and, with further legalization of our economy, put them to use. Especially because the securities are not sold for very much money in hard currency—as a rule, they are sold at the lowest ruble exchange rate.

[Zhagel] Does that mean there is a threat that one fine day, let us say, when foreigners are permitted to open ruble accounts at our banks, the West will begin to buy up the country wholesale and retail?

[Mozhayskov] I will not deny the negative consequences of some operations with securities. They undermine the rate of exchange of the ruble, destabilize our banking system, and undermine faith in it on the part of foreign banks and companies. But as for a mass buy- out of our economy using these types of bonds accumulated abroad, in my opinion these fears are groundless.

At present the USSR Gosbank is developing rules for opening ruble accounts for foreigners. They will allow refusal of securities that have been disseminated illegally. So there is nothing to get alarmed about.

[Zhagel] But not only securities have accumulated abroad. In his speech at the Congress of People's Deputies, V. Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, declared that according to preliminary estimates, there are up to 12 billion paper rubles [R] in Switzerland alone.

[Mozhayskov] Our estimates differ considerably from those expressed at the congress. I believe that it is a question of a figure several orders lower.

After all, the whole volume of ready cash in our country comprises about R130 billion. It is impossible for 10 percent of this money to be in Switzerland alone. If we add in the other countries, then such an outflow of cash abroad would necessarily result in shortages of money for settlements inside the country. But such a thing is not happening at this time.

So, in regard to this issue, I believe passions should not be inflamed. And, in general, each should stick to his own business. By this I am not referring to the KGB alone.

For example, the parliament of Russia has already begun to examine proposals by the Russian Government to grant foreign firms the right to trade freely on our market in consumer and other goods for rubles and to accumulate earnings in ruble accounts for subsequent investment in our economy. I believe that in terms of their negative consequences such independent actions will be far more dangerous than any dissemination and sale abroad of securities.

I would like to stress once more that if we wish to stabilize our financial system, our actions should be coordinated and well- considered and they should not depend on any political goals.

New Far East Power Station in Jeopardy

PM1001095191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Report by V. Kovalchuk from the construction site of the Bureya hydroelectric power station; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kovalchuk] Much water has passed through here since this construction project was started. The Bureya, a taiga river, has witnessed many a ceremony at the site, marking the end or the beginning of specific construction stages. However, the main event, the commissioning of the power station's first power unit, is yet to happen. It was scheduled to take place during the current winter months. But we were told by specialists that it is not likely to happen in the near future if material and technical supplies remain at the current deplorable level. There is not enough cement, metal, timber, pipes, and equipment. No transport facilities or machinery were allocated to the project last year.

[Foreman K.M. Magomayev] The equipment we have is very old. You can see how much has been built. We operate in fits and starts.

[Kovalchuk] Why are the excavators not working today, right now?

[Magomayev] Well, at the moment the excavator over there is due to take over in 15 minutes. And the other one is not working because of a faulty switch. But it has already been out of action for a couple of weeks for repairs.

[Kovalchuk] Are there many equipment breakdowns?

[Magomayev] Yes, very many. As I told you, the equipment is very old.

[Kovalchuk] How do you rate the work organization at the site?

[A.V. Kruglik, assistant machine operator] What organization? Organization is bad. What else can I say?

[Kovalchuk] How often do you get to see the management?

[Kruglik] Often. Every morning.

[Kovalchuk] You mean they are of no use?

[Kruglik] Sometimes they are here almost all day. Well what use can they be? They come, they look around, they give some instructions to the foremen. And that's it.

[Kovalchuk] Unfortunately, the hydroproject builders cannot hope for local cooperation either. The potential Bureya hydroelectric power station's electricity consumers, Maritime Kray, for instance, plead difficulties and refuse even elementary assistance. There is only one way out of this critical situation—efficient supplies from central stocks, meaning a state order which must be fulfilled 100 percent.

AES Accident Information Made Available

91P50070A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 Jan 91 p 2

[Article attributed to the Public Information Center for Nuclear Power: "What is Happening at the AES"]

[Text] RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA published information about accident situations at the Southern Ukrainian and Balakova AES's on 28 December of last year.

We not only informed readers of the facts, but criticized the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry where, nevertheless, we could not get specialists to comment. Our criticism was taken to heart by the ministry. In the near future the ministry's administration will meet with the RABOCHAYA GAZETA collective.

At the same time, we want to inform readers by means of the newspaper the telephone number which can be called to receive full AES accident information: 216-72-48.

Reserve Meat Caches in Moscow Discussed

914D0099A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 52, Dec 90 p 4

[Report on an interview with an unidentified "Mosmyasomoltorg" manager by A. Binev: "Frozen Meat (More than 4,000 tons of meat are stored in just one meat storage facility in Moscow)"]

[Text] **Issue No. 49 of the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY published an interview with the manager of the "Mosmyasoprom" industrial association ("Do Not Come to Moscow To Buy Meat!"). As we continue to look into the fate of this product, which now is such a rarity, we went to the manager of one of the ten "Mosmyasomoltorg" meat storage facilities. We have agreed not to mention the name of the person or the storage facility number.**

[Binev] Should the catastrophic situation in the capital be blamed entirely on the Moscow City Soviet and its executive committee?

[Manager] No, the point is that it should not. They do not have any rights on our products.

[Binev] Who does, then?

[Manager] Neither I, nor my colleagues, nor even the Ministry of Trade. The latter though tells us how much of our products to issue and to whom. This is what we call funds and we cannot go beyond their limits.

[Binev] Who sets them?

[Manager] They are set for the whole country and handed over to the Ministry of Trade by the USSR Council of Ministers. How they arrive at the figures I do not know, but the funds are insufficient.

[Binev] Could that depend on the practical absence of meat?

[Manager] This is not true. There is enough meat; there are different kinds of sausage, meat products, and poultry. All this is available in Moscow in sufficient amounts, capable of relieving the tensions even in our city of many million people. However, the situation is worse with respect to cheese and eggs.

[Binev] What kind of meat is it—domestically produced or imported?

[Manager] Both. As for the imported meat, after the USSR president's trips for negotiations in other countries, we could feel the results on our products right away. He does not go on these trips for nothing.

[Binev] But where is all this meat? Why do we not see it on the store counters? Either domestic, or imported...

[Manager] Let me explain so that you can understand the gist of the matter. Every oblast, city, and rayon are "allotted" funds that specify exactly the amount of food products that should appear in the stores. We call these products a "free cargo." We cannot get a kilo more than that, even if the situation is as tense as the current one in Moscow. The remaining products stored in our facility are a reserve fund. At the end of the year products are moved from the reserve fund to the free one in amounts specified exactly from above for the respective funds.

[Binev] These must be the strategic stockpiles in case of another war?

[Manager] That is correct. Not only in case of war, but any other disaster also. As the present one, for instance. The Muscovites will get no meat before 31 December. But as of 1 January stores will start receiving food products.

[Binev] Has it always been done like this?

[Manager] No, not always. If something like this happened before the holidays in old days, the first secretary of the Moscow city party committee would call the USSR Council of Ministers. The latter would then order the release of extra food products from the funds to the Ministry of Trade and then the command would go down the chain to us. Now, as you know, the chain has been broken at the highest link and the Moscow City Soviet chairman seems not to carry any weight from the point of view of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Binev] Everybody says and writes that you are to blame for everything because you fail to unload railroad cars with meat and other foods.

[Manager] This is not correct. We do unload cars and can unload even more. But where can we put all this? Our legs are tied to these funds like to heavy weights. The meat storage facilities of Moscow can easily feed the city and remove the tension. The reserve (strategic) fund may be kept stocked at the same time because we have a constant inflow of meat, even if there are some disruptions.

Apart from the stores meat is also sent to the Central Union of USSR Consumer Societies, which is supposed to sell it at the farmers markets and thus keep the prices down. Not everybody can pay 25 or 30 rubles a kilo to a private seller. But that is a game also. You will not find this meat in the markets. And again they talk about the funds. But all the profiteering and theft is borne by shortages that are created by these funds.

[Binev] What do you suggest? What way out do you see?

[Manager] Complete privatization. And not only in stores but in all the links—from beginning to end. When we and the Moscow City Soviet become masters, there will be meat, and sausage, and poultry, and canned meat in Moscow. There will be strategic stockpiles, too.

I do not know whether it is being done on purpose or not, but I am sure that it is done without any reason. That creates tensions. Our workers are also unhappy, by the way. They do "piecework" and as we are restricted by the funds, they get less work and therefore less pay. As you can see, everybody hurts, except the market profiteers and wheeler-dealers.

Economist on Role of Black Market Capital

PM0901164491 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by economist A. Shchipantsev: "Money Talks—Shady Capital Is Establishing Its Own Ethics Through the Market Strategy"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 23 November 1990 is the first official document ever to mention the concept of "economic sabotage." The USSR Supreme Soviet instructed the KGB to "carry out an effective fight against economic sabotage, with particular emphasis on monitoring to ensure that imported goods are used for the specified purpose." A glimmer of hope appeared. But it began to fade there and then. "They have sent us into battle unarmed. The legislative foundation has not been laid. For a start, no provision has been made regarding the punishment for sabotage, and it is not clear what this frightening word means," stated Yu. Tikhonov, member of the KGB operational headquarters for combating economic sabotage.

Among uninformed citizens, who constitute practically the entire population, several questions have arisen that the official organs have not given clear answers. Here are a number of such questions to consider:

Why is it that, over a fairly long work period, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and other soviets have adopted around 100 different laws aimed at altering the social system and creating a market infrastructure and not one law up to now on the militia, KGB, or the new Criminal Code?

Why is it that amendments to the Criminal Code in relation to organized crime and economic sabotage have not yet been adopted?

Why has the activity of the special Provisional Committee for Combating Organized Crime, set up in 1989, failed to produce results?

Why is it that clauses controlling the activity of the cooperative system, operating in all civilized countries, were not inserted into the Law on the Cooperative System even though such clauses were proposed by government specialists?

Why is it that the monetary reform and the introduction of an income declaration were categorically rejected by many of the country's leaders and top scientists?

Since uninformed citizens are unable to find answers to these questions, they are looking for explanations themselves in logical discussion and conjecture.

Let's try to find answers to the questions within the context of the general sociopolitical strategy for transferring the country to a market economy. An analysis of this string of questions alongside this strategy leads to the logical conclusion: Somebody needs the organized shady sphere and the mafia as the main source for the primary accumulation of shady capital in private hands. Without this, the proposed transition to a market economy will not materialize.

Judge for yourselves. What exactly does the strategy for transferring the country to a market comprise?

Its key element, as stipulated in the "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy" and more especially in the "500 days" plan, is the transformation of the social form of ownership into the many and varied versions of private ownership. "This," the "Basic Guidelines" state, "demands that the greater part of enterprises should be taken out of state hands and that privatization should be introduced. Privatization in this sense does not necessarily imply a transition to private ownership alone (that is, private ownership would be the main form, but there may be exceptions—author's note), but rather a more general process for changing proprietors through the transfer or sale of state property on varying terms to collectives, cooperatives, shareholders, foreign firms, and private individuals (obviously, with one exception, all the others are private owners in different guises—author's note).

The "500 days" plan gives a more open explanation: "The basic procedure for redistributing state property must be the sale of enterprises via auctions and an installments system to private individuals or groups of individuals who will become the basis for the subsequent creation of private enterprises or various types of partnership."

Who then can purchase the social property created by the labor of several generations of working people? On what economic and social basis has it been decided to rely during the transition to a market? In my view, the entrepreneur has been put forward as the key figure.

It is true that the "Basic Guidelines" state that "all citizens have equal opportunities to ensure normal living conditions for themselves through their own labor and accumulated assets." So where exactly are these equal opportunities? asks the citizen. The vast majority of the people have no accumulated assets at all. According to varying estimates, 600-700 billion rubles [R] (or 55-60 percent of the money supply) are concentrated in the hands of 5-6 million people out of a total of 290 million. The average per capita income of 117-118 million people (or 41 percent of the population) falls below the minimum living wage recognized by trade unions. In total, their annual monetary income for 1989 was equal to that of 4-5 million people from the richest population group. Analysis reveals that of the R395 billion deposited in savings banks, the main bulk (320 billion) belongs to 3.5-4 million savers.

That aside, shady organized crime has a potential for accumulation valued at a total of up to R800 billion. The overwhelming majority of the country's population can barely survive till the next wage packet, and only 85-90 million people are potentially capable of having up to R1,000 in savings.

Thus, it is obvious that if we legitimize shady, criminal capital, this is what will be used to buy enterprises.

Another buttress of the market strategy is foreign capital and credits. The West agrees to give money only on condition that the economy is capitalized. We are constantly reminded of this in no uncertain terms by the ruling and business circles of all countries.

Only recently, Mitchell, leader of the democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, declared: "Events of the last few days testify to the emergence within the USSR of a right-wing assault on perestroyka. If this develops into an open assault, then aid to the USSR will have to be stopped."

One can begin to understand why the monetary reform met such fierce opposition and was not included in the programs for the switch to the market. Implementing the monetary reform before the shady capital is "laundered" would have led to the severing of mafia capital thus undermining the basis for the country's transition to a market.

Who then has an objective interest in the shady economy, who needs it? USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies love to go through the whole spectrum of political movements and groups: reactionaries, conservatives, right-wingers, democrats, left-wingers, extremists, and so on. But not one of the speakers positively indicates who is who. In order to see past this verbal tightrope walking, let's see who in practice is defending what.

For example, advocates of the "500 Days" program represent the political groups calling themselves left-wingers, democrats, Democratic Russia, and so on. In the world political movement, left-wingers and democrats are defined as those who defend the interests of the working people, the majority of the people. Political forces defending the interests of the rich are classified as

right-wing. Taking refuge in democratic slogans, homegrown right-wing forces are using the devices of mimicry and chameleonic mutability to delude the people. The distribution of the economic, political, and social forces upon which the programs for the transition to a market rely is becoming clear.

Advocates of the market may protest that everything which has been said is merely conjecture and supposition. However, it is very easy to disprove such conjecture: We must adopt, with the minimum of delay (one to one and a half months) and before the mass privatization and capitalization of the economy gets underway, laws on the KGB and militia and amendments to the Criminal Code to deal with organized crime, economic sabotage, and mafia phenomena. Introduce incomes declarations. Undertake monetary reform to take criminal capital away from the richest strata. Amend the laws on the cooperative system as well as a number of others to ensure a tough legal response to financial crime and prevent political figures from becoming involved in the sphere of private business and organized crime.

Alas, there is little hope that this will be done. Behind the criminal system stand the interests of market circles. KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov's warning speech on 22 December 1990 at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies gives grounds for suggesting that the KGB apparatus is aware of the true aims of mafia circles. Maybe, at last, KGB and militia organs will receive long awaited rights in the fight against organized crime too. However, this is a fight which must be fought on a qualitatively new basis: against those crimes which encroach upon laundered criminal capital and in defense of the new private owners, with a view to guaranteeing the immunity of the "free entrepreneur." The law enforcement organs will be helping to revive the old principle of "democratic" order: Money talks.

Case for Monetary Reform Aired

PM0701140391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by economist G. Anulova: "New Money: Trap or Salvation?"]

[Text] Our rubles are increasingly turning into worthless scraps of paper incapable of buying anything. Exchange between enterprises is turning into barter. The coupon system has become almost totally widespread. This makes the transition to market relations is impossible. How is the situation to be stabilized?

Back in the 18th century they discovered the classical law that the money supply multiplied by its rate of circulation must equal the volume of goods produced multiplied by the level of prices. If that equilibrium is disrupted one of the four components must be adjusted. Thus there are four types of operation to stabilize the economy: increase production, reduce the rate of money circulation, reduce the money supply, or increase prices. (Of course, these options are not mutually exclusive.)

The first option, of course, is the most desirable. The problem is, however, that in our conditions it is also the most unrealistic. Given the unbalanced prices and the population's general lack of confidence in the future, no conceivable growth of production will be able to meet the artificial demand and "dispel" the desire to hoard goods for future use.

Having reluctantly abandoned the illusion of a rapid increase in consumer goods production, our official economic thinking has focused on the second of the aforementioned stabilization options: reducing the rate of circulation of the ruble. There are various ways money owned by the population and enterprises can be voluntarily "tied up," including increasing interest rates on deposits, issuing bonds, and so forth. Life shows, however, that the number of people wishing to purchase state bonds in our country is far smaller than we would like. Admittedly, there still remains the sale of state ownership of the means of production to labor collectives and private individuals.

The potential here is truly enormous. The balance-sheet value of the country's fixed capital (even excluding the value of land, minerals, and forests and allowing for depreciation) is approximately 2 trillion rubles [R]. Compared with that, the entire money supply—especially the "surplus"—is not all that great. The population has R361 billion in accounts. The amount of cash in circulation is R111 billion. There may be as much again "under the mattress." Non-cash resources are approximately 10 times greater than cash. Clearly using such orders of magnitude as its basis, the USSR State Planning Committee has estimated the population's potential for acquiring state property at R90 billion a year and revenue from destatization using enterprises' resources at R200 billion...

Is that realistic? Alas... It must not be forgotten that the resources scouring the consumer market in search of goods are not quite the same as those invested in the acquisition of durable assets. A person will not buy shares with money that he was going to use to buy an extra sack of groats.

It seems that we have reached the moment of choice: either a simultaneous raising of all prices (which will increase the aggregate worth of the quantity of goods to match the existing money supply) or a one-shot reduction in the money supply with the aid of a money reform. We have become stuck at this point since both the former and the latter are extremely painful.

The problem of prices in our country is particularly acute because the majority of the population have extremely low incomes and live below the poverty line. Furthermore, if you "let go" of prices not only will there then be a leap in prices to a level of equilibrium, it is more likely that there will be hyperinflation—as much an enemy of the market economy as universal rationing. It has a

tendency to reproduce itself—because of both inflationary expectations and the fall in the actual amount of tax revenue paid into the budget, that fuels budget emission.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that to many Soviet economists money reform begins to seem a more attractive alternative. The rumors that have appeared recently about the vast quantity of Soviet rubles accumulated abroad are also obviously no coincidence but an attempt to influence public opinion accordingly. What comment can I make here?

History—both in our country and abroad—knows two main methods of implementing money reform. The first is to block bank accounts for a specified or unspecified period of time. It gives the government freedom of further action: It can unfreeze resources when production begins to increase or convert them into interest-yielding but non-transferable securities. The second method is to write off cash and resources in bank accounts and replace them with a new currency unit at a common or a differentiated rate.

Here, for example, is how monetary reform was carried out in West Germany in 1948. Cash and deposits belonging to the population were exchanged at a rate of 100 Reichsmarks to 6.5 West German marks. To help people get over the interim period until the completion of the exchange each citizen of the country received a one-shot payment of 60 new marks. Wage rates and, with a few exceptions, all current payments to the population were fixed at the level of the previous nominal prices, which meant that the purchasing power of current incomes was many times greater than that of savings. By contrast, interbank demands in Reichsmarks, the corresponding state sector assets, and the Third Reich's state debt were canceled. I stress that the measures were accompanied by a deregulation of prices (apart from prices for the major types of raw materials and foodstuffs) and an improvement in the health of the budget.

The new West German mark was immediately accepted by the population, they had grown tired of the currency confusion. The day after the reform enterprises began vying with one another to offer their goods for sale for the new marks. Economic activity increased sharply.

Does this mean that money reforms produce the same effect everywhere? Of course not. For example, in the eighties certain Latin American countries (Brazil, Argentina, and Peru) attempted to replace their old currencies with new ones as part of anti-inflationary programs, but soon the new money began to lose value faster than the old money. Nevertheless, this author is beginning to get the impression that the Soviet economy today has almost no choice (only, dear reader, do not rush to get your money from the Savings Bank or put it there—this is just my personal opinion).

The possibility of a money reform gives rise to a number of alarming questions.

First: Are conservative circles not trying to use it as a counterweight to the transition to a market economy? It is not impossible that some people intend to implement monetary reform without deregulating prices afterward while even continuing to distribute resources on the basis of norms.

Second: Monetary reform resolves the problem of the newly accumulated surplus money supply alone without affecting new means of payment coming into circulation. Given the present rate of cash flow, the surplus money will grow in an instant. Therefore, if the reform is not accompanied by rigid budget measures, a reduction in subsidies, an improvement in taxation policy, incentives for enterprise, and the demonopolization of production, it is doomed to fail.

Third: As in other spheres of economic policy, a clumsily constructed reform may do tremendous damage. After all, if a reform really comes about it will be necessary to make correct decisions on many technical questions: The exchange ratio, the choice between blocking and writing off money, and so forth. In other countries such decisions are made on the basis of a thorough analysis of the distribution of assets across the country. In our country, however, the most fantastic or speculative inventions on this score are currently circulating—at least in the press.

Fourth and last: The most sensitive issue for us is the population's confidence in the government conducting the reform. People would accept it if they really could see light at the end of the tunnel. Many already understand that there are no "easy" solutions to our problems. After all, "soft measures do not create hard currencies," to use the expression of Professor Rudiger Dornsbusch of America's MIT, one of the world's most authoritative specialists on macroeconomic stabilization problems. Our experience, alas, confirms the correctness of his words.

Footnote

Gyuzel Anulova is one of the winners of last year's international competition to find the best plan for achieving ruble convertibility. She is a senior scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Economy and International Relations and a candidate of economic sciences

Agriculture

Decree on Food Distribution Problems Expected

LD0901155491 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Soviet domestic food production and imports will keep consumption in the country at its current level, Soviet Communist Party Politburo Agricultural Supremo Yegor Stroyev told reporters today.

But distribution problems are likely to continue, he admitted.

Last year the Soviet Union harvested a record crop of 237-240 million tonnes.

A special programme of food supply has been developed for 1991, Stroyev said.

President Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to issue a special decree on the issue within the next day or two, he added.

He also commented on agricultural management reforms. "A new structure will be endorsed soon. A ministry of agriculture will be set up," he said.

The Soviet Union will continue importing food from abroad despite last year's bumper crop, he said.

Grain imports will be slashed by a third, he said.

Stroyev declined to reveal the exact amount of hard currency needed to buy foreign food, but estimated that the figure will be about six to seven billion U.S. dollars.

As of January 8, the Soviet Union received 29,400 tonnes of foreign food aid. This is purely humanitarian aid and it won't solve the key problem, he said.

He denied rumours about a food "blockade" of Soviet "democratic centres."

"There is no such blockade. No one can do it on purpose nowadays," he said.

Stroyev Holds News Conference on Food Problems

LD1001000591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1518 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Remarks at news conference given by Yegor Semenovich Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for Agrarian Issues, on the subject of "The Food Situation in the Country," and correspondent Ivan Akkuratov, at the CPSU Central Committee Press Center in Moscow on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] [Akkuratov] The time when the USSR was a major food exporter has long since gone. Now, the biggest state on the planet is compelled to stand with outstretched hands before the world community. Are our affairs really so bad?

[Stroyev] Over the last year, agricultural produce totaling 225 billion rubles [R] was produced in the country. This is more than in 1989. The biggest harvest of grain crops in all our history was gathered: about 237-240 million tonnes. This permits us to say that where bread and groat crops and pasta products are concerned, our country will not be hungry. The thing is that to provide food products, we need only 50-55 million tonnes for the population. To fully supply livestock farming, we need 90-100 million tonnes of grain. And if one looks at the results of the last five-year period as a whole, one must say that this five-year period was probably the most successful one in the postwar period in development of the country's agrarian complex, regarding both the rate and volume of production.

[Akkuratov] How did the unprecedented harvest turn into a national disaster? The reason, perhaps, lies not in the bad weather so often blamed by farm managers, but in the system, which is incapable of operating efficiently. We know that a quarter of the total harvest gathered in is lost during storage and transportation.

[Stroyev] Indeed, the losses of some produce in the country amount to up to 20-25 percent, especially of potatoes and fruit and so on. What is the reason for this? The reason is primarily the low level of development of the food processing industry. For it is not only apples and potatoes which are badly processed: the biggest problem we have at the moment is meat, which we cannot process fast enough everywhere. Milk also cannot be processed fast enough. It has turned out to be difficult to set up this industry on a modern basis, and in the agrarian complex today we are banking upon not only increasing the volume of produce, but above all on conserving, processing and transporting produce to the consumer. For it is these aspects, processing and transportation, that are being badly organized. As for why the apples have not been harvested, or why potatoes have not been harvested, there was simply not the physical manpower to bring them in, because there are few peasants in the countryside and individual regions, particularly in the nonblack soil zone. They are suffering misfortune.

[Akkuratov] Yes, I thought, as I came back from the press conference. Indeed, the time has come for a fundamental change in the state approach to agriculture. Evidently emphasis must be placed here on multiplicity of forms of ownership in the countryside. One would like to believe that that will help us break out of the food crisis.

Stroyev Comments Further

LD0901223891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Report by A. Kraminov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The latest meeting with journalists took place at the CPSU Central Committee press center today. The agenda which was announced for the journalists had one issue: The state and the prospects of the CPSU's agrarian policy.

The results of the past year in the agrarian sphere were summed up by Yegor Semenovich Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Begin Stroyev recording] I must say that over the past year, agricultural produce worth a total of 225 billion rubles was produced in the country. The biggest harvest

of grain crops in all our history was gathered. Moreover, over the year as a whole, we did not work badly regarding livestock production either. And what is more, if one looks at the results of the past 5-year-plan period, one must say that this 5-year plan period was probably the most successful one in the postwar years in development of the country's agrarian complex, as regards both the rate and volume of production. [end recording]

On this—as they say—optimistic note, we could have ended our report, even though from here at the comfortable "Oktyabrskaya" hotel one has to travel through a dank Moscow, a usual feature of which has become the endless queues outside foodshops. The people who spend long hours in these queues are perhaps little interested in what has already been achieved. They are evidently more concerned about what awaits them in the future.

[Begin Stroyev recording] A program has been specially drawn up for the country's provision with food for 1991. Evidently in the next day or two a special decree by President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will be issued on these matters. Moreover, an interrepublican agreement has been concluded between all republics and the Union on the delivery of all food products to Union-republican stocks. And a certain proportion of foodstuffs which are lacking will be purchased abroad and imported. [end recording]

Food Inspectors Seen as Hampering Production

PM0901164791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Report by V. Fedorov and I. Karelin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Fedorov] We can understand that these days it seems inappropriate and untimely to be talking about sausages. But let us live dangerously. Krakow, Odessa, Armavir, Skhodnya, Tallinn, Semilug, and Kazan sausages are very tasty and much sought after. But most exciting of all are fried Kalinin sausages. And this is not the realms of fantasy: Here they are—heavy, round, and substantive. This is the Kalininskiy Rayon Potrebsoyuz [Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives] Food Combine. A rayon potrebsoyuz is all very well, you might say. What about the village potrebsoyuz? It has sausages too, and not just because it is expecting a visit from the Politburo or television reporters.

[M. Zh. Aliyeva, member of the workers' monitoring team] We have made spot checks. We have done lots of checks in rural stores—not just in our city. At the moment we do more or less have the produce. Compared to other cities and regions, we have a large selection.

[Fedorov] Why is there no selection in other areas in our republic that have so much livestock? What is missing? Some people think we need more inspectors.

[T.P. Mikhaylova, deputy chairman of the rayon potrebsoyuz] We have enough inspectors.

[Fedorov] Do you encounter cases of sharp practice in the trading system? Is there any food set aside for the inspectors?

[Mikhaylova] Yes, there is no getting away from it—food is set aside for the inspectors.

[M.V. Chuprina, director of a food combine, identified by caption] The food combine produces 18 different kinds of sausages.

[Fedorov] In other words, about the same number as there are inspection authorities?

[Chuprina] Right.

[Fedorov] What if there were more inspectors—would we have more sausages?

[Chuprina] No, the inspectors only make it harder for us to do our job.

[Fedorov] The republic's leadership held a representative seminar here in an attempt to boost sausage production by publicizing front-ranking experience. They admitted that the problem is not that complicated. It is not necessary to have Yugoslav equipment. Sausages can even be made the way grandfather used to do it—in a smoking shed using birch logs. The produce has been praised by lots of oblast and rayon leaders. It has become a dish regularly enjoyed by commissions of inspectors. But the rayon's business is still bogged down. You do not have to look far to find the reason—it would be better if you had not come to film, the front-ranking workers complained. The Frunze minister [reference unknown] will see it, cut our funding, and pass on the money to people who sit around with nothing to do. And they are right—the people with the power to take things away, dispossess others, and stifle initiative with quotas and limits always favor those who sit around doing nothing.

Land Reform Problems, Priorities Viewed

PM1001101091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Platoshkin under the rubric "What People Are Talking About": "Turning to the Peasant"]

[Text] The other day a decree was published by the USSR president concerning the priority tasks connected with the implementation of land reform. Let us remind ourselves of the essential points in this document.

It is planned in the first half of 1991 to make an inventory of land that is not being rationally utilized. From this inventory, land plots will be made available on a lifetime heritable tenure and leasing basis to peasant farms, lessors, and cooperatives and also for citizens' personal plots, dacha buildings, orchards, and vegetable gardens. Some 3 to 5 million hectares of such land must be found by spring.

Needless restrictions on the development of the use of land for farmstead plots, personal plots, orchards, and vegetable gardens are to be removed. State support for peasant farms and agricultural cooperatives will be guaranteed, as will incentives and privileges. Particularly during the start-up period. By 1 March measures are to be devised that will attract settlers to depopulated areas. It is proposed that the governments of the country and the republics increase market allocations of construction materials by 50 percent over the year.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes that operate inefficiently will undergo changes. Here there will be associations of peasant farms and cooperatives and lessors. However, compulsory "dismembering" of farms will not be permitted.

The state and society are turning to the countryside and the peasant. And the president's decree opens the way to free management, economic initiative, and enterprise. And what is most important for us all, it opens the way to the long-awaited and frequently promised adequate food supplies.

Next spring could prove to be a turning point in this matter. That is, to put it bluntly, if we do not let the opportunity slip by; if we start making real steps toward the transition to a mixed economy in the countryside. A program exists. But the actions and measures which it requires do not just happen by themselves.

Take the inventorying, for instance. Before sowing begins it will be necessary to account for, investigate, evaluate, and redivide millions of hectares of land. And is it likely that the partitioning will proceed without arguments?

The presidential decree rejects the compulsory breakup of farms. But is that the only critical question? There are also many others. It is one thing, let us say, to find an area for a farm, a farmstead, or a private plot in the Russian Nonchernozem, but quite another in the Kuban or in the Crimea, or in densely populated Tajikistan or Uzbekistan. The most unexpected and difficult problems can arise—ranging from those that exist within or between farms to interethnic ones. In such cases the republic governments and the local soviets require exceptional expertise, discretion, tact, and worldly wisdom. It is important not to fence the decree round with all manner of subordinate legislation. People should have confidence in the irreversibility of the reform.

But surely the sore point is this: How have we managed to carry over the concept of communal apartments in the city to that of communal truck farming? What is this division of worthless and marshy soils into six, and even into four hundredths of a hectare? A chicken coop, a little barn, and a few trees and shrubs. There is nowhere to squeeze in a few radishes, onions, or strawberries in this sort of garden. Established and organized fellowships and cooperatives cannot now be reshaped. But it would also be a good idea to allocate them space for seedbeds not far from their main holdings.

Basically, we shall have to deal with a whole tangle of similar problems by the spring. But where can we retreat to? If the authorities do not release the plots in time, they are depriving farmers of the opportunity to sow a spring crop. This means that we will get no harvest in the fall. A year will have been wasted. It is basically a chain reaction. The local soviets will cope with it, provided that all the best qualified and expert personnel from the countryside and the city are enlisted to make an inventory of the land.

The president's decree specifies the development of the rural construction industry and a sharp increase in the market allocations of materials. This is extremely urgent! The market cannot be immediately saturated with these goods all at once, especially while the number of people building their own house is still growing. However, there is a great deal that can be improved by one's own efforts, without waiting for centralized allocations. This is being done, for example, in Belgorod Oblast and in a number of rayons in Belorussia and other republics. In these places, traditional ancillary village industries are being revived. The base for on the spot procurement and processing of produce needs to be strengthened immediately.

A bus, electric train, or mobile store that goes to a village or dacha settlement in accordance with a timetable. The opportunity to acquire such prosaic materials as manure, sand, and tools without frayed nerves or chasing around government offices—these are the things that people value far more than widely publicized programs, pompous declarations, and the pledges of local authorities and their leaders.

The implementation of land reform will be a clear test of the effectiveness of the governments of the country and the republics, and of the local soviets in particular. First and foremost they have to strengthen existing farms, organize new ones, and develop the material base, or even create one from scratch. This is no simple task. Especially when there is a shortage of absolutely everything. Monitoring will be conducted by the very people taking part in the changes—villagers and city dwellers—on a daily basis. Now there is no getting out of things by referring to abstract "conservative forces."

In the heat of the changes and reforms, we should not forget about existing agricultural collectives and enterprises. The ones that make a poor job of feeding us. How are they getting ready for sowing? In what areas have they been successful, and in what areas are they in need? We get carried away by the new and sometimes cast aside what is valuable, everything we have earned and suffered for. Unfortunately this is also a peculiarity of our history and our way of doing things. And it also means that things go wrong for us.

By spring the country must lay the foundation of new economic relations in the countryside. But many more springs will be needed before the soil can breathe fully

and justify our hopes and expectations completely. We must make good use of every day to bring that time closer.

Military

Army's Markovskiy Admits to Draft Problems

LD0901220391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Frans Mikhaylovich Markovskiy, first deputy chief of the main directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by correspondent German Sedov; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Sedov] Frans Mikhaylovich, the autumn campaign to call up young people for military service continues, but not in the same way everywhere, as is known. Any comment?

[Markovskiy] It is proceeding with great difficult in some republics. Georgia's plan has not been fulfilled: essentially only 10 percent of the planned number of conscripts has been called. In Armenia, this figure is 28.1 percent. In Lithuania, only 12.5 percent of the plan has been fulfilled; in Latvia, 25.3 percent. In Estonia 24.5 percent of the plan has been fulfilled.

[Sedov] Excuse me, please. How do these percentages look in the sense, so to speak, of the recruitment of the native population?

[Markovskiy] For instance, in Latvia, it is only slightly over five percent of the Latvians. This is some 160-170,000 men.

[Sedov] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carried a report on the call-up in which it is pointed out that, in the interests of the country's defense, additional measures will be taken with the use of airborne troops. Please explain, so to speak, the need for them.

[Markovskiy] They will carry out tasks to assist the military commissariats in implementing the call-up. These duties include: not permitting the blockade of rayon commissariats during implementation of the call-up of young people into the army; not permitting the blockade of assembly points; and escorting troop trains with recruits to where they will be dispatched to perform their service. These troops will not carry out any gendarme functions; they will fulfill only those tasks determined by the defense minister with a view to fulfilling the president's decree.

[Sedov] Regarding the gendarme functions, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes here today in news from Vilnius that the Presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has explained, in turn: We call on the youths who have found themselves in danger to shun USSR servicemen who may be in disguise or use other insidious methods. To what extent does that correspond to reality?

[Markovskiy] On this matter, I would say that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, the members of the Supreme Soviet, should have long ago thought about and kept their young people from breaking the laws of the USSR, and what is more, of the republic itself.

Essentially, the Supreme Soviet is contributing to the law being broken by young people: The USSR law on universal military conscription has not been rescinded, and the Defense Ministry is guided by this law. Other Union republics are guided by it and are fulfilling this law unquestioningly.

[Sedov] There are voices that want to link this entire situation to a postponement of the summit meeting.

[Markovskiy] The point is that the military command has never planned and is not planning any military coup on the territory of a single republic, of a single town. Linking the redeployment of individual subunits of airborne troops to Vilnius to the summit meeting and to the postponement and breakdown of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, I belive this is incorrect.

[Sedov] Will the task involving the appeal be fulfilled in full or not?

[Markovskiy] I believe the Defense Ministry, as envisaged in the president's decree dated 1 December 1990, will take all measures to fulfill the decision of the Council of Ministers on the latest call-up of young people to perform their service in the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Manilov Denies Draft Enforcement With Troops

PM1001111591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General V. Manilov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate, by N. Belan, place and date not given: "Draft Card: Defense Ministry Ensures Fulfillment of Presidential Decrees"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In connection with the report [by the USSR Defense Ministry on increasing failures in some Union republics recently to "fulfill duties related to the country's defense"] and rumors surrounding it, our correspondent asked Maj Gen V. Manilov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate, to answer a number of questions.

[Belan] Valeriy Leonidovich, this decision by the USSR Defense Ministry has received a varied reception. The opinion is being expressed, for example, that the draft situation is a pretext for sending in extra troops, especially into the Baltic....

[Manilov] There is and there can be no question of sending in troops. The talk about divisions and tens of thousands of assault troops does not correspond to the fact, I repeat: Only individual Airborne Assault Force

subunits are being used. These are additional and, regrettably, enforced but necessary measures to assist military commissariats to carry out the draft and also to help those who are working to track down and bring back military servicemen absent without leave from their units, and that is all. The USSR on compulsory military service and the country's constitution must be steadfastly observed; their nonfulfillment directly affects the interests of the state's defense capability.

[Belan] But what will the extra military subunits be doing to help the military commissariats?

[Manilov] They will act on specific circumstances. For example, where necessary they will take part in supporting the vital activity of military commissariats, draft centers, and draft commissions. After all, it is no secret—your newspaper has written about this many times—that in some regions the conditions that are being created for the military commissariats' work are intolerable. Electricity, water, and telephones are being cut off, threats of physical violence are being made against military commissariat workers and members of their families, and their honor and dignity are being impugned. Obstacles are being created to the fulfillment of their official duties. Draft cards sent to draftees are being ignored, intimidation and moral pressure are also being used against these young people, and they are being prevented from entering draft centers.

Thus, we are acting within the bounds of the law in execution of the USSR President's decree of 1 December 1990. Incidentally, the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies also stressed that all unionwide laws must be observed unfailingly until the signing of the new Union treaty. This demand also applies to the execution of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

In addition, the presidential decree which I mentioned unambiguously demands that the USSR Prosecutor's Office ensure that officials and citizens who refuse to enforce the USSR law on questions of the country's defense be called to account. Presidential decrees must be obeyed.

[Belan] Readers have phoned us to ask: What kind of soldiers and defenders of the motherland will these soldiers be if they have to be drafted by force?

[Manilov] The overwhelming majority of draftees who did not attend the military commissariats in response to their draft cards and those who have left their units were victims of unlawful legislative acts adopted at local level as well as propaganda by destructive forces. This must be seen and correctly understood. Young people have been incited to break the law. But if they are protected from the negative and corrupting influence of these illegal acts and forces they will perform their constitutional duty with dignity and honor. Therefore it is primarily a question of restoring law and order and creating the kind of psychological atmosphere in which people can see that there is a law, it is operating, and they must live according to it.

Akhromeyev Describes Conscription Moves

LD0901150591 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Excerpt] The USSR Defense Ministry, concerned about problems with the draft into the Armed Forces in a number of republics of the Soviet Baltic region, Transcaucasia, Moldova, and some regions of the Ukraine, have decided to use paratroopers in order to enforce conscription. Radio Moscow's reporter Vladimir Orlov has asked Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev what was it that led to that measure.

[Begin Akhromeyev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The situation with the draft is unsatisfactory. Some republic have ignored the law on comprehensive conscription. This is the reason why additional measures were taken to enforce the draft into the Army in strict compliance with the law and the Soviet Government resolution. The Army will give assistance to military commissariats in the republics in question in carrying out the draft. [end recording]

Marshal Akhromeyev says that the commissariats must have normal conditions for their work. The commanders of the military districts in the territory of the mentioned republics will have the right to search for draft dodgers and call them to account in compliance with the USSR Constitution. [passage omitted]

Troop Withdrawals From East Europe Pose Problems

PM0801091191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel A. Belousov under the rubric "At USSR Supreme Soviet Committees": "Firsthand Experience Is Better..."]

[Text] Problems in withdrawing Soviet troops from Eastern Europe and settling them on USSR territory are to be studied at the local level by a group of representatives of USSR and Union republic supreme soviets, ministries, and departments. The group, headed by L. Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee, began its work among the troops 4 January. It includes USSR People's Deputies S. Golovin, V. Bare, I. Gorelovskiy, V. Lukin, and N. Kostishin; USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat consultants I. Novoselov, A. Yeliseyev, and S. Streltsov; RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy S. Stepashin; Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputy A. Matviyenko; Belorussian SSR People's Deputy L. Privalov; and Uzbek SSR People's Deputy V. Niyazmatov. Representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Finance Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] are taking part in the trip.

The legislators will study the state of affairs in the Moscow, Kiev, Baltic, and Belorussian Military Districts

and the Northern, Central, Southern, and Western Groups of Forces. This is a return visit to the troops for members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. What has made it necessary? I put this question to Leonid Vasilyevich Sharin.

[Sharin] After the committee members' first trip to military district garrisons and groups of forces last summer, we formulated a series of instructions for ministries and departments at an enlarged committee sitting. It is now time to see at local level how the decisions are being carried out. That is the first point; second, there is now an opportunity for constructive talks with legislators from the countries from which our troops are being withdrawn.

Claims on Military Spending Cuts Derided

PM0901164191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Report by I. Sichka: "Are the People and the Army United?"]

[Text] The fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumed in the Kremlin yesterday. The deputies were presented with a draft new Union budget. What does it indicate, first and foremost?

It indicates that military expenditure remains a priority item of state funding. The plan is to earmark for it 96,563,000,000 of the 276,820,000,000 rubles [R] in the expenditure part of the budget.

But in line with international commitments we should have cut military expenditure by 15 percent this year. That has happened, the military assure us. Last year R71 billion was spent on military needs and planned expenditure this year is only R65 billion.

How so? Where did the figure 65 come from? Apparently, the military added everything up meticulously and arrived at the conclusion that this year's R96.5 billion is equivalent to last year's R65 billion, taking inflation and higher prices into account. So, basically, what we are looking at is not an increase, but a reduction in military expenditure. But even if you accept this cunning premise, you might reasonably ask the following questions.

First, can it be called a reduction if the biggest military expenditure in recent years (according to Marshal Akhromeyev) was 16.4 percent of the budget in 1985, whereas this year it "dropped" to 35 percent?

Second, does this mean that we have at last obtained the real figure for the decline in the living standard last year and every worker is now fully entitled to demand a 47-percent pay raise? Why is the inflation index taken into account in appropriations for military needs but forgotten about when it comes to funding science or sociocultural measures?

Finally, the draft budget has at last revealed the amount to be spent on the KGB—R4.9 billion. R2.2 billion of this is for the border troops.

Reports on Arms Movement Seen as 'Sensationalism'

PM0901150191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Major General V. Manilov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Information Administration, and Major General V. Kuklev, first deputy chief of the USSR General Staff Treaty and Legal Directorate, by N. Belan, under the rubric "Who Benefits From This"; place and date not given: The Legend of the Vanishing Tanks"]

[Text] The submission of E.A. Shevardnadze's resignation brought forth all sort of stories. If they were to be judged in terms of sensationalism, I would award top prize to one of the last to appear—carried by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 3 January. The story, narrated in the newspaper by A. Ignatov, is unlikely to be ignored even by people who are already completely fed up with sundry political scandals. Here it goes: A total of 20,886 tanks have "vanished without a trace in the Soviet Army" over the last 18 months. They were there back in January 1989, but had disappeared by 18 November 1990 when the USSR's official representative at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional Armed Forces in Europe supplied our partners with data on the quantity of our combat equipment.

"Spokesmen for the U.S. Defense Department have expressed concern because top officers of the Soviet Armed Forces... have misled the Soviet diplomats responsible for the submission of arms data," according to A. Ignatov's quotation from THE WASHINGTON POST. The author of the news story entitled "What Is Behind Shevardnadze's Resignation?" goes on to ask: "In actual fact, is it (the journalist means the 'brilliantly executed operation to move eastwards, beyond the Urals' the 'vanished' tanks, guns, and armored combat vehicles) not the last drop which made our foreign minister's cup of patience overflow?"

What sort of intrigues are our military weaving? Could it be that, following last fall's "mysterious troop movements near Moscow," they have decided to undermine our foreign policy course? What is the meaning of all this? This was the topic of a conversation with Major General V. Manilov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Information Administration, and Major General V. Kuklev, first deputy chief of the USSR General Staff Treaty and Legal Directorate.

[Manilov] Everyone has the right to make conjectures and put forward his stories. Even the great Montaigne, writing in his "Essays," sounded this warning: "It would be madness to judge what is true and what is false on the basis of what we know." This is because our knowledge is limited. Especially the knowledge of someone who has not studied a given question in depth. This is why I am

in favor of an open and honest conversation on all problems of our domestic and foreign political life, provided it is a serious and professional conversation. Dilettantism is capable of exciting public opinion and whipping up passions, but it is not capable of constructively resolving anything.

A professional actually differs from a dilettante in that he does everything possible to get to the heart of any matter.

Look at the story published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.... Not a bad approach: We are only expressing suppositions, we do not assert anything... I think, however, that any story—especially one that is distributed in millions of copies—must be based on facts. The observer's story does not altogether match them, the reliable facts.

[Kuklev] Let us begin with the main point. There has been no "disappearance" of 20,886 Soviet tanks or any "brilliantly executed operation to move a powerful military grouping eastwards, beyond the Urals" as reported by A. Ignatov. It is well known that our Ground Forces in Europe had 41,580 tanks as at 1 July 1988, and 20,694 as at 19 November 1990....

[Belan] What happened to the remaining combat vehicles?

[Manilov] We adopted a new defensive doctrine in 1987 and, contrary to the skeptics' assertions, started implementing it. This was done not on instructions from the partners in the West but out of our own good will. We were driven by the goal to bury the "cold war," dispel the enemy image, and gain trust. Thus, the first and main element in the new doctrine's implementation was the transformation of our troops' offensive structures into defensive ones. The operational maneuver groups—the so-called "tank fists"—were eliminated. Motorized rifle divisions in Europe lost 40 percent of their tanks, and tank divisions lost 20 percent of theirs. A proportion of tank combined units and regiments were disbanded. Consequently, the total tank pool in Europe was reduced by approximately 10,000 units.

To continue: More than 10,000 tanks were withdrawn from the effective combat strength of our troops in Europe when we adopted the decision to reduce the Armed Forces by 500,000 men—and this was also done at our own initiative, unilaterally. This was yet another demonstration of our good will, an implementation of new political thinking. We demanded nothing of our partners in reply. This was done—it is very important to emphasize this—even before agreement was reached on the categories of conventional arms to come under the treaty's effect.

There you have them, the 20,000-odd "vanished" tanks.

[Belan] They were withdrawn, but what happened afterwards?

[Kuklev] This is well known. Some 8,000 were handed over to troops in the east of the country either to bring them up to establishment strength or to replace old model tanks. There were 8,392 vehicles sited in storage bases in West Siberia and Central Asia. The remainder were written off—either broken down for scrap or converted into national economic equipment, mainly in the European part of the USSR. Exactly the same applies to combat aircraft, strike helicopters, artillery, and armored combat vehicles.

Let me add that there are plans to decommission 6,000 obsolete tanks from troops in the east of the country in 1991-1995, which will be destroyed either by being broken down for scrap or by being converted into national economic equipment.

[Belan] You said that all this is well known. But the article in question hints at exactly the opposite.

[Manilov] This is obviously the whole point of the article. First, even supposing that attempts had been made to conceal the movement of tanks, artillery, armored combat vehicles, and so on—which is absurd in itself—this would have been impossible to achieve because technical intelligence gathering systems make it possible to detect and monitor all movements of arms and equipment. Second, we never made a secret of the fact—and this was repeatedly declared in conversations with representatives of the United States, France, Britain, the FRG, and other states—that the troops and arms being withdrawn from Europe would be sited wherever we deemed it necessary, in other words wherever the appropriate facilities were available. After all, the Americans for example are doing exactly the same—withdrawing their equipment and sending it to, say, Turkey or the Near East.

According to data at my disposal (as at 23 November 1990), the United States transferred 1,270 tanks from the European zone (to Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Pakistan, Oman, Bahrain). A further 1,000 tanks are being moved from Europe to Saudi Arabia. A total of some 3,000 tanks are being withdrawn from the reductions zone without any checks [beskontrolno]. The NATO leadership intends to move to Turkey (to Southeast Anatolia, which is outside the reductions zone) about 1,000 "Leopard" tanks and a large quantity of other arms. The objective is to keep the entire Near East under NATO control. Even Turkey is withdrawing its own "tank surplus" (more than 300 vehicles) from the reductions zone to the country's southeast region under the pretext of ensuring the safety of its borders with Iran, Syria, and Iraq. Everything I

have mentioned is being done after the treaty was signed, and this is unacceptable in principle.

Third, the withdrawal of equipment from the zone of the treaty's effect is not legally prohibited prior to the treaty's being signed. It is obvious, however, that the logic of the story he is putting forward prompts him to present this as sedition.

So, of what is the story's author trying to accuse us? Of having committed what sins? Of having deceived not only our partners but even our own diplomats? It would be naive to imagine that the Ministry of Defense and the Foreign Ministry would each be playing its own "hand." By the way, E.A. Shevardnadze said the following in this context in one of his interviews: "At the talks on disarmament questions, the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Defense, and other departments represent the country's single foreign policy complex. There are arguments at the stage when positions for the talks are elaborated, but this is normal, in the same way that criticism in the course of legislative debates is normal. Both are guarantees not simply of the correctness of our positions, but primarily of the country's security." You must agree that there is nothing further to be added.

The story's author asks what has been gained by, as he says, the consumption of fuel on the transportation of equipment—fuel which was in such short supply while the bumper harvest was being brought in, by taking up rail cars which are so badly needed for the transportation of foodstuffs, and by condemning, as he puts it, combat equipment to perish from the harsh climate and rough terrain beneath Siberia's open skies?

Let me reply. The equipment was transported in 1989-1990, and thus it is useless to make references to harvest work. It was transported primarily by rail. What was gained? The following, if nothing else: We did away with shortfalls in establishment strength and replaced obsolete equipment models—this took care of 8,000 tanks, 11,200 armored combat vehicles, 600 combat aircraft, and 1,610 artillery systems. Furthermore, this made it possible to substantially reduce military production. Finally, is there any need to talk of the importance of creating a combat equipment reserve? It is, of course, necessary to take care of its proper storage, but this is already a different matter.

Let me say by the way that anyone who is even slightly informed would laugh at the idea of a military grouping having supposedly been moved beyond the Urals. Nobody intends to create any such grouping there on the basis of redeployed arms. The actual term—grouping—implies much more than just equipment alone.

[Kuklev] Incidentally, in order to reach the levels envisaged by the Paris treaty within three years, the Soviet Union will have to eliminate more than 19,000 units of arms and equipment. We have the right to convert more than 750 tanks and 3,000 armored vehicles for national economic purposes.

The volume of cutbacks for all NATO countries amounts to 16,000 units of arms, including about 2,300 for the United States. This will not affect U.S. arms stockpiles on U.S. territory, at its bases on foreign territories, and in the Persian Gulf zone.

One more point. Taking into account the processes now under way within the Warsaw Pact Organization and the forthcoming change of this alliance's nature, primarily of its military organization, comparisons of Armed Forces are increasingly often drawn between the USSR and NATO, rather than between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO. As a result of the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, the proportion will be 1:1.5 in tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery, and 1:1.3 in combat aircraft and strike helicopters. But this overall proportion, which is to the West's advantage on the whole, is not at odds with the criterion of minimum sufficiency for our defense. But this must be borne in mind in order to prevent any lagging behind in the quality of arms.

[Manilov] One of the arguments used to prove the "perfidy" of the military concerns the list of published sites and facilities subject to verification. "Instead of 1,500 facilities subject to verification and accepted by us previously, the list contains only... 895. Any comment would be superfluous, as the saying goes," A. Ignatov writes.

I would comment nonetheless. This figure—1,500 facilities subject to verification—appeared long before the treaty was signed, at a time when even the categories of Armed Forces subject to reductions had not been finally agreed. For example, it also covered units comprising only personnel, whose numerical strength had been slated for reduction. Furthermore, some facilities were eliminated as a result of the unilateral cutbacks and withdrawal of our troops from East European countries. We approved an organization and manpower structure, as a result of which some auxiliary units lost some arms (mainly armored personnel carriers) which would have been restricted by the treaty, even though there were not too many such units involved. Thus the quantity of facilities subject to verification provided by us is fully in line with the treaty's provisions. This is all, without any "surprises."

I do not know why the journalist had to interpret the speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, during the work of the Fourth

Congress of USSR People's Deputies as being at odds with the opinion expressed by him when the treaty was signed in Paris. He evidently means the minister's statement that not all countries enjoy equal representation from the viewpoint of rights and obligations. For example, we have those 895 facilities subject to verification in our country against not a single one on U.S. territory. During the first 44 months they will conduct more than 600 inspections in our country, to be followed by 130 or more each year thereafter, but what about us? Does this assertion contradict the high appraisal of the treaty?

I find totally incomprehensible the observer's supposition that "having come up against the negative consequences of Operation 'Transfer,' someone in the Army found it convenient to publicly shift the blame onto... E.A. Shevardnadze and his department." After all, there is not a single fact to support such a conclusion, while the facts on which the story is built do not stand up to the slightest criticism.

Yes, everyone has the right to openly express his opinion, and probably even to make guesses. But by the same criterion, everyone should bear responsibility for what he says.

Baltic Republics

Soviet Troop Movements in Lithuania Reported

Troops Arrive at Vilnius Airport

LD0901130891 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1250 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Esteemed listeners! The Sajudis information agency has just reported that an airplane carrying 50 paratroopers and their commanders has just landed at Vilnius Airport. We ask as many Vilnius residents as possible to come to the Supreme Council bulding.

Seizure of Media Stations 'Possible'

LD0901140191 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1345 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Esteemed residents of Vilnius! We have been informed by the Supreme Council Information Bureau that according to unconfirmed reports about 50 vehicles carrying soldiers are proceeding from Panevezys toward an as yet unknown destination. Seizure of the Lithuanian radio and television station is possible. Let us be vigilant, composed, and united!

Television Tower Reportedly Surrounded

LD0901141191 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1356 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Esteemed listeners! We have just received a report that the television tower has been surrounded by military vehicles. Several armored personnel carriers are standing by. I repeat, the television tower has been surrounded by military vehicles. Several armored personnel carriers are standing by.

Lithuanians Called to Radio, TV Center

LD0901145991

[Editorial report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1415 GMT on 9 January broadcasts a telephone interview with Leonas Ignatavicius, director of Vilnius Radio and Television Center, by an unidentified announcer. Ignatavicius confirms the military presence and says that there has been no provocation yet. He says there is a business-as-usual atmosphere among his staff.

Following this interview, the announcer says: "Esteemed listeners, in accordance with an appeal by the Lithuanian Supreme Council Information Bureau, all of you who are able are invited to gather at the Vilnius Radio and Television Center. The Center's address is: 10 Suderves St., Vilnius."

Troops Reportedly Seizing Youths in Lithuania

LD0901212791 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] An extensive redistribution of the Soviet Armed Forces is taking place over the whole territory of Lithuania. There are many new forces and some units are in full combat readiness.

An ELTA correspondent was informed about this by the general director of the country's defense department, Audrius Butkevicius.

[Begin Butkivicius recording] We have sufficient information to state that in case people fail to give enough support to the parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, these forces could help to organize some kind of a coup similar to those carried out in Czechoslovakia, somewhat earlier in Lithuania and Hungary, and lastly in Afghanistan.

We are very dependent on how people support us. This day, in my opinion, demonstrates that, when there is support by the people, the Soviet Union so far has not adopted any resolute actions, although there are obvious attempts. [end recording]

This interview took place at 1800. An hour later Audrius Butkevikius announced that soldiers have started forcing their way into apartments in Kaunas, Kaunas Rayon, Ignalina Rayon, and Jonava. There are attempts to seize young people in shops and on the streets.

Troops in Lithuania Said To Have Special Tasks

LD0901200691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As Algimantas Vaitkaitis, deputy director general of the country's defense department, reported, at the Vilnius [Lithuania] northern troops' garrison a 920-man unit, divided into three groups, has been formed. The task of one group is to occupy the Supreme Council building; the second one is to arrest the parliament's deputies and government leaders at home; and the task of the third group for the time being is not clear.

Garrison's Orders To Be Carried Out

LD0901190591 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] A constructive meeting was held at the Siauliai Municipal Administration Building with leaders of the military forces stationed in the city, who have managed to avoid conflicts to date.

Following announcement of the USSR Armed Forces directive concerning the compulsory conscription of young men into the Soviet Army, an additional meeting with military representatives was initiated on Tuesday by Chairman of the City Council Jonas Trucinskas. It was attended by the commanders of the Siauliai Military

Garrison—the commander, the military commissar, and a representative of the Baltic Military District.

It has been learned that on the morning of 8 January, the garrison stationed in Siauliai was reinforced by military equipment and vehicles filled with soldiers. The city leaders were interested in learning the military's position concerning the events, what actions they planned to employ in rounding up the young men, and how to avoid a confrontation with the residents and internal security system staff members.

The military avoided answering many of the questions; however, their position was clear: The orders they have received will be carried out.

The representative from Riga [Baltic Military District] promised the municipal authorities that he would reply to their other questions this evening, while the Military Commissariat is already sending out call-up papers to young men, of whom there are over 500 in the city. Their fate will be deliberated at the City Council session, slated for Thursday [10 January], which will also be attended by the military commissar, Ivan [name indistinct].

Gorbachev Orders Talks With Lithuanian Groups

LD0901221691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2007 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—A meeting between Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Boris Oleynik, his deputy, and a group of representatives of Lithuanian social and democratic organizations was held on the instructions of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today.

Sixteen representatives of party, women's, youth, scientific and veterans' organizations, as well as representatives of republics' labor collectives spoke of the rather critical and explosive situation which has taken shape in Vilnius, other Lithuanian towns and settlements in connection with anticonstitutional and anti-Soviet actions undertaken by the Lithuanian authorities.

Special attention was paid to the fact that citizens' basic rights are being flagrantly violated in the republic, that servicemen, members of their families, party veterans and veterans of war and labor are being exposed to insults and humiliation, tombs of Soviet soldiers are being desecrated, monuments are being demolished, and fundamental statutes of the USSR Constitution and laws of the USSR are being flagrantly ignored. Armed formations are being set up their with the connivance and direct support of the authorities.

Participants in the conversation noted that the situation in Lithuania has been exacerbated by massed, single-minded national-chauvinistic propaganda—the essential aim of which is to oust the non-Lithuanian population from the republic. The policy pursued by the republic's official authorities as well as further price rises caused a wave of wholesale indignation among the population which at protest meetings held in Vilnius, Klaypeda, and other places demanded the resignation of the government, and the laying down of powers of the republican Supreme Soviet led by its chairman Landsbergis.

Representatives of the Lithuanian public asked for presidential powers to be introduced in the Lithuanian SSR in order to protect citizens' rights and, to ensure their security and normal conditions of their life.

Lithuanian President Rejects Gorbachev Appeal

LD1001164191 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 10 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Vilnius January 10 TASS—At a press conference in Vilnius, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis opposed President Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal issued today.

Journalists who assembled in the conference hall of the Lithuanian parliament were told that as the Soviet president appealed to the "non-existent" Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] rather than the Lithuanian Republic, "let the Lithuanian SSR react to this appeal".

Landsbergis said Gorbachev's demand that the operation of the USSR Constitution be restored in this Baltic republic is a recognition that it is invalid here.

Landsbergis Appeals to Lithuanians for Calm

LD0901142491 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Address to the nation by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania; from Vilnius—live]

[Text] Esteemed Citizens! [passage indistinct] I appeal to you people of goodwill living in Lithuania—many of you, I think, will be considered or consider yourselves citizens of this family—I appeal to you not to give in to incitement, to persuasion, to false arguments that you should act against someone, smash someone, break into buildings. This is needed by the orchestrators, by all those who could later justify military actions [words indistinct]. None of us need conflicts, clashes, worsening of life, either for us and for our children and our common future.

If anyone has questions, if anyone has demands or proposals, speak [word indistinct] for that, but not for organizers or pogroms. The government of Lithuania is functioning—we are currently reorganizing it—and is also waiting for your proposals. Likewise, we in the Supreme Council of Lithuania will receive your delegations.

But do not give in—I repeat once more—to provocative calls, which can create real or even apparent conflicts,

because this will be used by the forces of the old order, the forces that want to turn the clock back. If we show solidarity, we will defend law and order and mutual understanding. Do not give in to lies, and do not listen to appeals from people from the old party nomenklatura and KGB people like Burdenko and Ivanov. Display civic awareness! We will defend mutual understanding; we will create solidarity in the name of a just future, in which peoples will not fight each other, as has been [word indistinct] since the time of Stalin. Peoples will always reach agreement. We have already reached agreement on many things. Those states which want mutual understanding will be our comrades-in-arms, and colleagues in the common movement of democracy and a just society, as will also be, I hope, our conscientious fellow citizens. Thank you.

Views Prices, Soviet Troops

LD0901215791 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1110 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Statement by Lithuanian President Vytautus Landsbergis on suspended price hikes and Soviet troops in Vilnius to the Lithuanian Supreme Council, in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Today there would be no need to stage a meeting after the increase in prices has been suspended. It means everything has been planned, and the plans are being implemented. What was being implemented yesterday, being implemented today and, perhaps, will be implemented tomorrow, is only a part of a big plan. It is one link in the chain of events, which included the threats to hurt people, the seizure of Lithuanian property on the border, and many other matters, the promised military patrols in our towns, the stationing of paratroopers, etc.

Nobody should be deceived by some new names—such as the Congress of Democratic Forces—because these democrats, departing yesterday from the Supreme Council, urged coming with iron sticks tomorrow, that is, today. This is democracy for you, intended democracy. We currently have requests (?from) the leadership of the Vilnius garrison to come with armored vehicles and introduce order at the Supreme Council. Thus, there is a state which wishes to dictate its will to us, there is its military power, foreign military force here, and there are political forces infiltrated or inspired by it which can be used as alleged (?acts) by the inhabitants of Lithuania.

It is very regrettable that some organizations which could be loyal to the Republic of Lithuania—such as the Polish Union—are being involved in such actions. It would be nice if our deputies, deputies of various views and various factions, make clear statements about these actions, their aims, and about our main aim and main [word indistinct]. I also wish to repeat the already stated appeals to the people of Lithuania to come to Vilnius and stay in Vilnius these days at the Supreme Council Building and the government and everywhere where coercion may be staged or used so that pretexts for further acts of the planned chain can be created. We must stop this chain and these actions. We can stop some of them with the help of you, people of Lithuania and citizens of the Republic of Lithuania. [passage omitted]

I can say that, at the Mazvydas Library, in our neighborhood, there are armored vehicles and black berets. Thus, we see a real danger of actions similiar to those which have taken place in Latvia, where the black berets, behaving with an exceptional brutality, have forced their way into the press palace and occupied it. I appeal once more, directly to the residents of Vilnius, supporting the Republic of Lithuania: Come here, to the Supreme Council Building, because events may start very soon.

Situation at Lithuanian Council Building Reported

LD0901153891

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1435 GMT on 9 January interrupts its "From Melody to Melody" concert to broadcast an unidentified correspondent's live report on the situation outside the Lithuanian Supreme Council building in Vilnius.

The correspondent notes that a large crowd of supporters has gathered outside the Supreme Council building to demonstrate their solidarity with the Supreme Council members working inside. On the other side of the fountain, the correspondent says, the area is already filled with participants of the anti-independence supporters' meeting.

He contrasts the flags displayed at the gatherings and observers that, although quite noisy, both meetings are very peaceful. The correspondent adds that the Supreme Council delegates have resumed work at the afternoon session.

He also notes that he was been asked by his colleagues to announce that the Lithuanian radio and television building is being guarded by Lithuanian citizens and security. He says his fellow journalists working there promise to provide objective and comprehensive information regarding today's events, both within the parliament as well as Lithuania as a whole.

TV Reports Lithuania 'Slightly Less Tense'

LD0901230391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 9 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] After the decision to stop price increases, the situation in Lithuania has become slightly less tense. It is, however, a long way to calm.

The Lithuanian parliament rejected the proposal of the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party that the Supreme Soviet should be dissolved and new elections announced.

The situation at recruiting offices in Vilnius is normal, according to the correspondent of the "Vremya" program.

Vilnius Rally Calls for Presidential Rule

LD0901195891 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 9 TASS—Thousands of residents of the Lithuanian capital today took part in a protest rally, held in spite of the resignation of the Lithuanian Government led by Kazimiera Prunskiene on Tuesday.

Participants in the rally demanded that the republican parliament resign immediately, presidential rule be introduced in Lithuania and the effect of the Constitutions of the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic be restored.

The rally was held on the initiative of the Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee. Addressing the rally, Communist Party supporters described the situation in the republic as a crisis and a paralysis of power. Others concertedly catcalled them, scanning "Lietuva, Lietuva" and expressing support for the parliament in its activities aimed to seceding from the Soviet Union.

Participants in the rally called on collectives of industrial enterprises in the republic to stage a general political strike, if their demands are not met, and hold it until presidential rule is introduced in Lithuania.

Protesters Begin All-Night Vigil

LD0901213991 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] A few minutes ago, Laimonis Radzins gave us a moving piece of news from Vilnius. In Independence Square, by the Lithuanian parliament building, a demonstration by the people continues. It is already close to midnight, but in Independence Square around 70,000 defenders of liberty have linked hands and are singing patriotic songs. The singing revolution is continuing. Thousands of people intend to remain here through the night to defend their legally elected government.

Vilnius Situation, Army Draft Viewed

LD0901224291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent Dmitriy Biryokov from Vilnius; from the "Vremya" newcast]

[Text] [Announcer] The situation in Lithuania has become noticably exacerbated in the last few days and is giving rise to anxiety in our country and abroad. This is what our special correspondent Dmitriy Biryukov says about the events at the moment in Vilnius.

[Biryukov] [video shows crowds demonstrating at nightfall, some carrying banners] It is a privilege, although I must admit sometimes a bit frightening, to be present when history is being made. What is happening in Lithuania at this time will surely determine the situation for many months, perhaps years, in the republic itself and around it.

The date of 8 January became a turning point in the events which have shaken the republic. Beginning at 0900 a sea of people formed in the square in front of the Supreme Council, and what's more a stormy sea from the very beginning. Here there were left and right, centrists, and those who were must representing themselves. Their mood can be judged from the banners: We demand a referendum and the resignation of the government; We demand elections of a new parliament; hunger has no nation. [video shows crowd storming building]

The government's decision to sharply increase prices gave rise to an explosion of emotions in the morning. The consequence of this was the fall of Kazimiere Prunskiene's cabinet in the evening of the same day [8 January]. The policy pursued since March of last year, when separatism became the main rule, has to a large extent proved to have been a wanton one. Surely nobody could deny the right of any people to independence, but in this case it was more an instance of violence against economic expedience, and the retribution has proved to be inevitable. [video shows Landsbergis addressing crowd from balcony]

Landsbuergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, stunned by the swing of events, spoke about the suspension of governmental decisions, and called on his supporters to demonstrate in support of the present parliament.

[Video shows crowd singing in square] This is the scene this morning. This is how the demonstration of loyalty appeared. But by evening the songs were no longer being sung. People were awaiting a rally in the neighborhood.

The square opposite the public library: it is 1600 on 9 January. We are next to the parliament. A meeting has been called by those who, according tot he local political terminology, are called leftists. [video shows crowd holding up banners in Russian and Lithuanian]

Who would be bold enough to call the majority of the calls extremist? Is it not those which were heard yesterday and will be heard tomorrow? It is not very easy to change a situation which has been created in the republic not just one day or one month ago.

There is one other point of tension in the life of Lithuania today—the continuing Army draft. How much fear is being built up around this, in particular in the radio? We did the simple thing—we went to the assembly area of the republican military enlistment office. There weren't many draftees at that moment, but they proved to be approachable and determined lads. [video shows Biryukov interviewing draftees outside main entrance]

[First draftee] Naraskevich Andreyev.

[Second draftee] Kaminskas Gintaras.

[Third draftee] Azhlas Laimondas.

[Fourth draftee] Kuralskas Laimondas.

[Biryukov] Well, excuse me if this is rather a strange question, but did anyone drag you hear by force, did anyone bring you?

[Andreyev] We joined the Army by ourselves.

[Gintaras] By ourselves.

[A. Laimondas] By myself.

[K. Laimondas] Also by myself.

[Biryukov] But you must be worried?

[Andreyev] Of course I am, anyone would be before joining the Army.

[Biryukov] Where will you be serving?

[Andreyev] In Kaliningrad.

[Gintaras] Me, too, in Kaliningrad, with him.

[A. Laimondas] They told me in Tallinn.

[K. Laimondas] They told me Tallinn, too.

[Biryukov] But you still do not know what you will be yet?

[Andreyev] The Marines.

[Gintaras] Also the Marines.

[A. Laimondas] A naval infantry battalion.

[K. Laimondas] Also a naval infantry battalion.

[Biryukov] Is it because of your civilian job that you got these postings?

[Gintaras] I do not know. I volunteered.

[Andreyev] I was involved in sports before I joined the Army.

[Biryukov] Were you an engineer?

[A. Laimondas] No. I do not know why, it was just the way.

[Biryukov] You just found yourself in there?

[A. Laimondas] Just like that.

[K. Laimondas] Me, too, just like that.

[Biryukov] Wasn't it a bit scary?

[All four] No, not very, nothing to be afraid of.

[Biryukov] Well, you know, people are saying it is a bit frightening at the moment.

[Andreyev] There is nothing frightening about it. Anything can happen. If you cannot stand the heat, get out of the kitchen!

[Biryukov] It is great that there are new recruits like these. But one should not simplify the situation. There are forces who are extremely interested in wrecking the draft.

Yes, the inhabitants of the republic have plenty to think about today. Today, the adoption of any decision is crucial as never before.

Vilnius Warns Youth To Refrain From Travel

LD0901212591 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council Information Bureau announces that it is known that soldiers on the roads around Vilnius are stopping motor vehicles and checking documents. We advise the youths of call-up age not to take unnecessary trips. [passage omitted]

Rally Gathers at Klaipeda Mayor's Office

LD0901222191 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Romas Jankauskas in Klaipeda]

[Excerpts] It was quiet in Klaipeda this morning. In the afternoon provocative leaflets in the Russian language appeared on the streets and on the sidewalks saying: Let us occupy the town council. Representatives of the Yedinstvo and the CPSU, representatives from the enterprises of the union administration gathered at the mayor's office. There were not many of them but a meeting with very provocative placards was organized. The Klaipeda Lithuanians—supporters of Sajudis, came to take back the mayor's office. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

One veteran in a Soviet Army uniform read a letter to Gorbachev demanding that presidential rule be introduced in the whole of Lithuania. The meeting attended by several hundreds of people, lasted half an hour. But several thousands of Klaipeda inhabitants were guarding the mayor's office and singing songs. [passage omitted]

Vilnius Radio Carries Orthodox Bishop's Appeal

LD0901161691

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1450 GMT on 9 January interrupts its concert program to announce that it is linking up with Lithuanian Television. Vilnius Domestic then broadcasts the following appeal by Vilnius Orthodox Archbishop Khrisostomos:

"Let us not incite one another with shouts because this could lead us to very grave consequences. Let us remember those regions where blood has already been spilled. Let us solve all our issues, international issues and other ones which have accumulated, in a calm, peaceful, and sensible manner; let us not aggravate the situation."

Khrisostomas adds: "Brothers and sisters! Let us avoid extremes. Let us ponder it. With shouts and strikes and the application of thoughtless means we are making our life more complicated. Let us think about the children, the old people, and those who are physically handicapped."

He concludes by saying that people spend too much time on rallies instead of solving problems.

At 1500 GMT a news bulletin is carried entitled "The Pulse of the Planet! This is followed at 1515 GMT by patriotic songs.

At 1529 GMT the studio announcer interrupts the Lithuanian national songs by saying the the television tower is surrounded by Soviet Army soldiers and asks Vilnius residents to gather there to guard the tower.

The concert then continues.

Proceedings on New Lithuanian Government Begin

LD0901145491 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius January 9 TASS—The Lithuanian parliament began its proceedings calmly today although outside the building people and police maintain round-the-clock vigils prompting deputies to complain about the inconvenience created by "vigilantes" from the local defence department.

During a rather long discussion on how the parliament should work, most deputies proposed to discuss the economic plan and begin forming the government to replace the Kazimiera Prunskiene government, which resigned on Tuesday.

Vladislav Shved, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, queried if "the parliament has the moral right to continue to work" and moved "to disband the parliament and call new elections". However this proposal was rejected.

The agenda has not been endorsed. Deputies broke up into factions and commissions to conduct consultations on the principles of forming the government and the candidate for the prime minister's post. After a two-hour break the plenary session will continue.

Supreme Council To Meet

LD1001060391 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0400 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] The Supreme Council will work today, supported once more by the Lithuanian population. Questions concerning formation of a government are planned to be discussed first at a closed session.

Sajudis Urges Quick Formation of Government

LD0901124191 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Sajudis Seimas Council, having learned about the resignation of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, declares:

1. Changing the government under a climate of increased aggressiveness by the Kremlin forces creates an opportunity for the enemies of Lithuania's independence to attempt to inflict as much harm as possible on it, or even crush it. Therefore, we all must act with great circumspection and responsibility.

2. We regret that the lack of cooperation between the government of the Republic and the Supreme Council, their frequent confrontations, and as a consequence the delay in the economic reform ended in such a painful crisis. The Seimas Council asks that the Supreme Council not yield to blackmail from one side or the other and, with as much concord as possible, form up a new and effective government without delay—a government that would have the support of the Supreme Council and the public.

3. The Sajudis Seimas Council believes that the economic reform and the price revision cannot be postponed. However, the vital interests of people should not be disregarded, and everything should be properly explained to the public in advance.

4. We are convinced that there is no sense or need for Lithuania to hold any referendums nor new elections. At the same time, we think that it would be expedient to set up a competent council, consisting of deputies, representatives of the executive power, economists, lawyers, and members of the public, and endowed with a wide range of power, for the preparation of reform in the legislation and in the economy.

Esteemed people of Lithuania! We sincerely ask you to withstand this grevious hour, and render strong support to the legislature elected by us and the future government.

Lithuanian 9 Jan Supreme Council Session Detailed

LD0901105891

[Editorial report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0815 GMT on 9 January begins to carry a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, opens the session by describing yesterday's events at the Supreme Council building. He says:

"I do not need to remind you, the participants in the events yesterday around and inside the Supreme Council, that this tension being artificially created in Lithuania—partially also by the objective economic conditions, but which in an especially threatening manner is being created from outside—is still present. Yesterday attempts were made to create a pretext for clashes in Vilnius. We succeeded in neutralizing this, thanks to the endurance and discipline of the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including a special subunit which also sustained casualties."

He also states: "If you have read the TASS reports, you can see how attempts are being made to present everything in a distorted manner: what has happened and what has not happened; great unrest in Vilnius and in Klaipeda. But nothing happened in Klaipeda. It seems it has been ordered in advance. This should have happened, and was reported this way. Thus the order has not been fulfilled—attempts will most likely be made to fulfill it today.

"We know that there will be people supporting the Supreme Council; there will be people protesting, as yesterday. Some of them may be really dissatisfied or misled; some of them are fulfilling their tasks. We must look for people looking for accord and for explanations, and I would therefore like to ask all deputies to be ready to go out and talk to the demonstrators. It would be good to talk in other languages. The deputies of Lithuanian nationality should not be the only ones to take part in such conversations. Such contacts are always essential, and today it may be very essential. We must be vigilant in ensuring that provocateurs—and there will not be a few of them—do not succeed in inciting people."

Landsbergis asserts: "We are facing a most important task with the resignation of the government leader."

He concludes: "The situation is not the best, neither for our work nor for the political scene [matymas] in Lithuania—especially when attempts are being made from the outside to present it in a distorted mirror. Our work and care in reorganizing the government—and first of all in deciding on its leadership—must therefore be constructive and sufficiently fast."

At 0832 GMT proposals on the agenda are made.

Deputy Rupeika says: "A discussion which began yesterday, or its origins with USSR Deputy Minister of Defense Moiseyev, must go on under any conditions."

Landsbergis responds: "Esteemed Rupeika, allow me. This is completely obvious and people instructed to do this are carrying on with their work. I have phoned the address mentioned by you and esteemed Butkevicius spoke, too, they agreed to meet the day after tomorrow, and this work is being done."

The debate on the agenda continues at 0840 GMT with Landsbergis discussing the proposals on the agenda. It is then proposed to adjourn the session during which the deputies will work in groups. Landsbergis announced that an unsanctioned rally will be held in Vilnius but does not mention where or when this rally will take place.

The session adjourns at 0900 GMT with plans to reconvene at 1100 GMT.

At 1100 GMT the session reconvenes and begins with an announcement on the upcoming demonstration outside the Supreme Council building. It is reported that the meeting will be organized by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. It is also announced that it has been learned that the Vilnius garrison has been placed on full alert and that telegrams have been sent to Moscow asking permission to impose presidential rule.

Following these announcements, Landsbergis says that although the problem of the price increase no longer exists it is clear that their aims are different. He says that threats were received from the Vilnius garrison saying that tanks would come to the square outside the Supreme Council to estabish order. He invites deputies of all nationalities to make a clear stand on the latest events in the republic. Landsbergis then asks the people of Lithuania to come to Vilnius to defend the republic's Supreme Council.

At 1115 GMT, Deputy Kazimieras Uoka is asked to take the floor. He speaks about the abuse of their positions by Prunskiene and Brazauskas. He says that facts have surfaced that Brazauskas and Prunskiene are building summer cottages at the expense of the republic. Landsbergis again appeals at 1120 GMT to the residents of Vilnius to urgently come to the Supreme Council building because armored vehicles and troops of black berets have been seen already near the State Library which is adjacent to the Supreme Council building. Landsbergis says that the attack on the Supreme Council building may begin at any time.

At 1125 GMT further proposals on the agenda are discussed. Unidentified deputies propose to discuss the candidacy of the new prime minister. Deputy Pangonis says that to discuss draft laws while paratroopers are surrounding the building is impossible. He says the deputies should be discussing the nomination of a new prime minister.

The Supreme Council then votes on the first item on the agenda: amendments to the government law, paragraph nine. It is adopted.

At 1144 GMT Deputy Taurantas reports on the amendment to the government law. This report is followed by further debate.

At 1200 GMT the session adjourns for lunch until 1300 GMT.

At 1305 GMT the Supreme Council deputies reconvene and begin further debate on the draft laws.

At 1320 GMT it is announced that the plenary session is also being relayed live on Lithuanian television. This is followed by debate on labor law.

An announcement is made that television cameras are now stationed outside the council building. The radio commentator says that people can see what was going on in the square opposite the council building. He says that many people, not only from Vilnius, have come to the square carrying Lithuanian flags, singing songs and dancing.

At 1325 GMT debates on the labor law continues.

At 1328 GMT it is announced that Landsbergis is currently addressing the crowd outside the council building. This is followed by further debates on the labor law.

The studio announcer interrupts the relay at 1345 GMT with a report that 50 military vehicles are possibly enroute to the radio and television station. The relay then continues with further debate on the labor law.

At 1356 GMT the studio announcer interrupts the relay to announce that the TV tower has reportedly been surrounded by military vehicles. The relay of the debate then continues.

At 1405 GMT the session adjourns until 1530 GMT and the relay ends and is followed by a concert.

At 1534 GMT the announcer says that the meeting in front of the Supreme Council building has not ended and that chanting of slogans can still be heard there.

At 1535 GMT, the deputy in the chair proposes the agenda for the 10 January plenary session, which will include a draft law on commercial banks, a draft law on voluntary country's defense service, and a draft law on privatization. Amendments to the agenda are then proposed. Different opinions are expressed on the draft law on privatization.

At 1551 GMT, reception deteriorates to unmonitorable.

At 1610 GMT, reception returns to poor and voting on the following agenda is taking place: draft law on collective agreements, draft law on voluntary country's defense service, draft law on privatization.

At 1617 GMT, this agenda is adopted.

At 1625 GMT, there is a proposal to hold a closed session devoted to forming a new government. Details of the debate on this topic are unmonitorable.

At 1635 GMT, a proposal that time be allocated 10 January for discussion on the principles of forming a new govenrment was rejected.

At 1647 GMT, Landsbergis makes a concluding speech:

"This stressful day is coming to a close. The rallies are over. Military forces have withdrawn from the area around the Supreme Council building and they have also departed from the television tower.

"I would like to thank all the people who are listening to me and who also are in the square of the Supreme Council and in Independence Square. I would like to thank them for their solidarity, their moral support, and their presence beside us. I think this presence must continue. People should decide how to organize this. Of course, if we have any information about a new threat, we will of course announce it. Thank you, esteemed Lithuanian people, for supporting us.

"Now I would also like to speak about the political and spiritual atmosphere which permeated the events of our days in the Baltic countries, where, as you know, primarily by the use of military force, the tension was intensified and objectives hidden from us.

"The year started with beautiful words which we received from our neighbors. These probably have not yet been reported, so I would like to state them. One such greeting reads as follows: Truth and love should prevail over lies and hartred. I wish this were indeed so. [Signed] Vaclav Havel.

"Another telegram came from the Republic of Poland. The president expressed his thanks for our greetings and sends his greetings saying: I am convinced that the experience which we have accummulated during the 10 years of struggle which was fought by Solidarity will help us find a common path to the development of such relations between our nations which will leave all complications in the past and will accord with modern times. Greetings once again. [Signed] President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa.

"Now the reaction to what has been going on until today which I was talking about. Perhaps some people might have heard, others might have not yet about the statement by the White House yesterday which said that the United States is carefully monitoring developments in the Baltic countries. It reads, and I quote: The United States is especially concerned about the Soviet decision to send troops to the Baltic states. We regard this as a provocative and counterproductive action that could destroy the perspective of peaceful and constructive negotiations regarding the future of these countries. The United States urges the USSR to stop attempting to intimidate and return to negotiations which should be conducted without exerting pressure or force.

"The United States has never recognized the forceful incorporation of the Baltic states into the USSR and supports the aspirations of the Baltic nations to control and decide their own future. This is one of many statements of one kind or another which were made by foreign countries. This one perhaps gives us the greatest support.

"There are also other statements apart from those you already know about. Britain made a statement too. The British foreign secretary called on the Soviet ambassador so that he could hear the statement and then offer explanations. The Swedish foreign minister and prime minister have also made a statement. Japan also made a statement in which concern was expressed about the situation in the Baltic countries.

"The situation in the Baltic states was discussed today at the French Council of Ministers. They intend to make a statement although I have not yet received it.

"Esteemed deputies, thank you for your presence here today and for your constructive work. It was not easy in the tense spiritual and nerve-racking situation; however, I think this work was useful to us, and we have also done something useful for Lithuania today. We will be continuing this work tomorrow. Now I think work will continue in factions. We will discuss issues with regard to the government. Please contact me if somebody wants to make a proposal, as we have heard from the central faction. No doubt I will be visiting the faction meetings. Thank you for your attention. The plenary session is over."

At 1649 GMT, the session and the relay end.

Ozolas Explains Objections to Union Treaty

PM0901170191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with Lithuanian Vice Premier R. Ozolas by correspondent N. Lashkevich; place and date not given: "R. Ozolas: Mutual Compromises Needed"]

[Text] [Lashkevich] Lithuania's stand on the Union treaty has been expressed very categorically: on no account to participate in the elaboration and signing of the treaty. However, a way out of the impasse of problems must be found one way or another...

[Ozolas] I believe that sooner or later we will, all the same, use our joint efforts to untie the knot of the Lithuanian problem tied by history. Attempts to disentangle it regardless of the events of 1939-1940 are hopeless. I wish to remind you that, even compared with the other Baltic republics, Lithuania is in a special position, if only for the simple reason that it is not affected by the Law on Secession from the USSR, which was adopted later than our Declaration on the Restoration of the Lithuanian State's Independence. There is no right to draw us into the talks process and the Union treaty as a Union republic.

[Lashkevich] Obviously, you have a clear idea of the possible consequences of Lithuania's refusal to participate in the Union treaty... For the republic is virtually ending up outside economic cooperation.

[Ozolas] It is precisely these questions—political, social, economic—that the talks must resolve. Our delegation does not refuse to adopt compromise options on the basis of two parallel programs for finding a way out of the present constitutional crisis. It is only at first sight that they do not link up. However, the whole point of talks is to secure their rapprochement and a mutually acceptable solution to the problem by means of compromises.

[Lashkevich] All the same, on what counts does the Lithuanian Government dislike the draft treaty?

[Ozolas] On a number of counts, whose essence boils down to the definition of Lithuania's status as a Union republic, which we have not deemed ourselves to be since 11 March. We will not join the new Federation Council—once again, federation—and its working organ, the proposed interrepublic committee, for the reasons I have already mentioned. But the chief point is that the draft treaty proceeds from the former, stagnant approaches to interpreting the sociopolitical situation in the country. A different approach is needed to democratize society. The so longed-for consolidation of political forces in the country and entry into the new union of sovereign states can hardly be achieved by an iron hand, by means of the old command methods. We have already been through these grim lessons. Lithuania must be free and, if people refuse to understand this and do not intend to seek compromise paths, conflict is inevitable.

The people of Lithuania will not resign themselves to the diktat of any interrepublic committee, if such a thing is created. Does anyone really seriously think that the republic will submissively abandon the ideas of independence? You have only to make a careful study of our history to understand an obvious truth: We want to live independently. Perfectly well aware of the commonality of our historical destinies, we propose political and economic cooperation with all the USSR's peoples on the basis of direct treaty ties.

[Lashkevich] You said: the people of Lithuania... But the people must still be asked whether they want to live in an independent state. Why does Lithuania so stubbornly reject the idea of a referendum?

[Ozolas] Our parliament was elected democratically and fully reflects the people's expression of their will. I do not think that we should hold a referendum at present, because we are under conditions of constant political, military, and economic pressure from the USSR. Although we do not rule out such a possibility in principle.

[Lashkevich] In speaking of "military pressure," you probably mean the incident near a military camp? And do appeals for civil disobedience and noisy protest actions against the so-called "occupiers" really promote normal bilateral talks?

[Ozolas] The government does not support or encourage such actions and, what is more, is opposed to labels like "occupiers" or the demands "Ivan, go home!" While condemning the attack on pickets outside Vilnius city

garrison and the shooting in the city streets, at the same time the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium declared that "use must not be made of insulting slogans directed against people's nationalities or of threats and actions which increase tension in society—which does not conform to democratic principles and legal norms." All these problems, including the problems of the future union unification, must be resolved at the negotiating table.

Savisaar, Yazov To Form Panel on Military

LD1001060191 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0400 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] An ETA agency correspondent has informed us the Estonian republic's chairman, Edgar Savisaar, held a meeting with USSR Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov in Moscow yesterday.

The conversation was concluded with Yazov's promise to phone the commander of the Baltic Military District, Fyodor Kuzmin, in Riga and inform him that currently there exists no reason to discuss the dispatch of paratrooper units to Estonia. The most important result of the meeting lies in Yazov's agreement to form a commission that would assist all parties in finding compromises acceptable to both sides on questions such as the army's status, the operative exchange of information, including announcements concerning possible [words indistinct] of the army in Estonia, and a resolution of the soldiers' and their families' problems.

Mr Savisaar and the minister of defense have also agreed the joint commission will begin its work next Monday, 18 January [as heard] and that the first meeting will take place in Tallinn.

Lithuanian Ministry Aide on Death of Ozolas' Son

PM0901141791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Item from column of IZVESTIYA and news agency reports: "Killing of Lithuanian Vice Premier's Son Being Investigated"]

[Text] According to Lithuanian Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] information, the death of Dziugas Ozolas, son of Lithuanian Vice Premier R. Ozolas, was the result of an everyday conflict.

As MVD spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Zugenius Maciulaitis reported, the investigative material that has been collected rules out the possibility of a political killing.

A preliminary investigation has established that on 31 December 20-year-old student D. Ozolas was celebrating the New Year with some former classmates at a dacha owners association cottage near Vilnius. At around 0100 he left to meet some fellow students who were greeting the Near Year nearby. He accidentally went to a cottage where there was a party of drunken young people who were unknown to him. A fight broke out, and one Richard N. deliberately punched D. Ozolas in the face, knocked him to the ground, and started kicking him in the head. The young man died from the blows as a result of a brain hemorrhage.

Armored Vehicles Obvserved on Riga Streets

LD0901202991 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] This morning and also toward evening, many people of Riga observed military armored vehicles and motor vehicles with soldiers in the city streets. These were seen in Brivibas Street, Krisjana Barona Street, Valdemara Street, Tallinas Street, as well as in the Mezaparks.

More on Armored Vehicle Presence

AU1001101691 Paris AFP in English 0942 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 10 (AFP)—Two military columns, including armoured vehicles, have rumbled through Riga, the capital of Latvia, a spokesman at the Latvian parliament said Thursday.

There was an interval of a few hours between the movements of the two columns, the spokesman Ojas Rekters said. The first column, comprising four armoured troop carriers, several buses carrying soldiers and three covered military lorries, crossed the city at a high speed at the end of Wednesday afternoon. An armoured vehicle halted in front of the headquarters of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Baltic. Mr. Rekters said that the column was an escort for the Baltic military chiefs.

Another column of about 10 vehicles crossed the city without halting just after midnight, and apparently no soldiers left their vehicles, he said.

Mr. Rekters said that the city was calm on Thursday.

Sychev on Troops in Latvia

LD0901234591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] As we have already reported, a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet which has been created to study the situation in Latvia connected with the Army arrived today in Latvia. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council, met with Nikolay Sychev, the head of this commission. Journalist Helena Grave spoke with Nikolay Sychev and with Talavs Jundzis, chairman of our legislature's Internal Affairs and Defense Commission.

[Begin recording in Russian] [Sychev] Well, we have come here to analyze the situation objectively. After the conversation with Anatolijs Valerianovich Gorbunovs I note with satisfaction today that we are here united by a common goal. We are aware that the removal of the acute problems relating to servicemen is above all a

matter of political stability, and judging by the information that we recieved today I think that we shall manage to objectively analyze all these matters and with the help of the republican organization find a solution to all the issues, although they are very complex and difficult, and time and effort will be required to remove the acute situation that has been created.

[Grave] Tell us, please, do you not assess the introduction of paratroops as the first step to a state of emergency in Latvia?

[Sychev] No, I do not assess this decision by the minister to introduce paratroops as a step on the union's part to impose a state of emegency in the republic.

[Grave] Do you consider that the methods of struggle are democratic?

[Sychev] That is a difficult question. The fact is that one must take account of the real situation. The situation in the army is, of course, very complex. You are aware of how difficult the call-up is proving to be. According to the latest figures that were published in the central press the call-up plan in Latvia has been only 25 percent fulfilled, while the fulfillment figure for the union is 78 percent. You know, this undermining of the plan leads to very serious complications in the army.

[Grave] I realize all this, but is forced mobilization possible?

[Sychev] The need for everything to be carried out in accordance with the law is possible. Do you mean: could forced mobilization occur involving violence?

[Grave] Yes, violence.

[Sychev] This is a complex matter. I think that Comrade Gorbunovs' information indicates that along with the military they are at present seeking a form that would be acceptable for the republic. Well, judging by what he says, I think that the search for a solution to this problem by other means cannot be ruled out.

[Grave] A further question. Do you have meetings planned with the public and with individuals.

[Sychev] You know, we are setting ourselves the task of gathering the views of various sides, people, and organizations. The larger the range of views that we gather, the greater chances we have of making an objective appraisal of what is taking place.

[Grave] I understand. And are you not intending to go to the Association of Riflemen organization?

[Sychev] You know, we have not yet specified particular organizations. We have applied to our ...

[Grave, interrupting] Counterparts.

[Sychev, continuing] ...counterparts from the Supreme Soviet with a request that they make us recommendations. One needs to bear in mind that we are, of course, restricted for time.

[Grave] When are you leaving?

[Sychev] We are due by Saturday to be back in Moscow. Prior to that we are due to have meetings in production collectives and in army units.

[Grave] But it is very difficult in just three days to objectively appraise the situation.

[Sychev] Well, I do not think that we shall be assessing the situation in just these three days. We shall be provided with the relevant documents and material. Our conversations and the impressions that we manage to gather here shall give the opportunity to make the assessment.

[Grave] Thank you, Nikolay Yakovlevich. I have one impertinent question. Tell us, do you have any prejudices, or are you absolutely neutral in your attitude?

[Sychev] I have absolutely no prejudices.

[Grave, in Latvian] Mr. Jundzis [Chairman of Latvian Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs], two minutes, please. The composition and your impressions?

[Jundzis, in Latvian] The composition of the commission is six persons, at present five have arrived. It has been formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet's Chamber of Nationalities. Well, it is quite interesting that the tickets for this composition, as far as is known, were bought already on Monday, although this composition was confirmed on Tuesday at that Chamber of Nationalities. But I think that, surely, this is not the most important; more important is the meeting we already had with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, there was already an approximately one-hour discussion with our commissions. Well, it enables one to think that the persons have not come with some kind of definite aim of detecting here as many transgressions as possible but, after all, to delve into the situation. We do hope that we shall, after all, succeed in constructively talking to them, and also more or less objectively to show what the situation is like in the army.

[Grave] Yes, did you really gain such an impression that they are already in a corresponding frame of mind?

[Jundzis] Well, the composition of the commission is six persons. There are diverse persons, aren't there. With the commission's leader you spoke with just now, more accurately, the leader of this group, it seems to me that you can believe him, that the man really strives to delve into various opinions, as the first such meetings already show. Of course, well, there are also army representatives in this group; it is clear that it will be more difficult for them, surely, to give kind of an objective assessment of the situation. Well, also certainly our Equal Rights faction's deputies will help, who already kind of rather impudently broke in during the meeting with Anatolijs

Gorbunovs, without any warning, and, in fact, all but caused a scandal. I do not think that this is proper behavior.

[Grave] You spoke also with Mr. (Temers), didn't you, the head of the political department of the republic's military commissariat.

[Jundzis] I was not present during the meeting. So then, the first meeting took place today with Anatolijs Gorbunovs to tackle the question of undergoing the alternative to military service in the republic or, more correctly, to settle the questions, so that we do not have boys who evade service. We are interested in introducing order, because, ultimately, we have a law which enabled them to choose the service, and one has to be chosen, and it must be stated which one prefers. So these questions were outlined in the talk. As far as I know, Mr. Gorbunovs said that the talk was sufficiently businesslike, constructive, and tomorrow it will continue, again with Anatolijs Gorbunovs. [end recording]

People's Deputies Arrive in Riga for Meetings

LD0901205991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] A group of USSR People's Deputies, set up in accordance with a resolution of the country's Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, has arrived today in Riga. The union parliamentarians are to hold meetings with the republic's leadership and with the commanders of the Baltic Military District so that they can find out about the situation developing in Latvia since the adoption here of the decision limiting the rights of servicemen and members of their families.

Protestors Urge Latvian Government's Resignation

LD1001112191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1000 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Excerpts] A meeting organized by Interfront and the United Committee for Strikes began at 1100 today outside the building of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia. According to approximate data, several thousands have gathered. [passage omitted]

Supreme Council Deputy Anatoliy Alekseyev noted in his speech that the current government is pathologically incapable of paying heed to the people's demands. Appeals were also read: One to the Government of the Republic of Latvia to resign, to dismiss the parliament and to elect a new one which would be capable of paying heed to the interests of the people; and another to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, which notes that also he must ensure a stable future for the inhabitants of Latvia.

The meeting is still in progress. There have been several attempts by hooligans to squeeze up the stairs of the Council of Ministers building and to press the guard against the door, or to hamper the journalists' work.

Latvian Enterprises Protest Price Hikes

LD0901203191 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 9 TASS—Sharp price hikes in Latvia, where food prices have grown by 200 per cent beginning on January 1, resulted in dissatisfaction of many residents of the republic.

Chairman of the Free Trade Union Board Andris Silins said the situation at many enterprises in the republic's largest cities is highly explosive. A protest rally was held today at the Riga commercial seaport.

The republican parliament, which met in a session today, was familiarised with a joint statement of 160 work collectives in Daugavpils.

The statement said the government's activities are aimed against people and result in worsening living standards. The work collectives demand that the government resolution on price hikes be suspended until legislation on price indices is adopted as an effective measure of social protection of the population.

The parliament has not expressed its attitude to the resolution, adopted at meetings attended by 32,000 workers. The parliament failed to adopt the proposal of the opposition, insisting that the government resolution on price hikes should be suspended. After that, members of the parliamentary equality faction left the parliament session.

Demonstration Planned

LD1001033891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] A disturbing report has come from Riga today. It says a picket meeting against price increases will take place today at 1100 in front of the Latvian Council of Ministers' building. The decision about this was adopted yesterday at the meeting of the heads of the enterprises, trade union, and the working collectives' councils; the representatives of the party organizations of the Latvian Communist Party; the international front of the working peoples of the Republic; and other public organizations.

Price Hikes Seen To Cause Bankruptcies

PM1001102191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 91 Second Edition p

[Unidentified TASS correspondent report: "Stop the Press"]

[Text] The government of the Latvian republic has kept its promise: On 3 January retail prices of bread, milk, meat, and products made from these items were increased by an average of 220 percent. A liter of milk, for example, now costs 62 kopeks, and a loaf of bread costs 50 kopeks.

In the government's opinion, the price hikes will make it possible to balance supply and demand in the commodities market and to eliminate speculation in foodstuffs. I will note that before the New Year in a Riga market a kilogram of smetana cost 20 rubles [R] and a kilogram of meat cost R40...

In order to ensure the social protection of the population, the Latvian Council of Ministers has established a system of monetary compensation. It has been decided to raise pay by R66 a month, grants have been introduced for children, and stipends and pensions increased. In most industrial enterprises and economically accountable organizations pay is being increased from their own resources, which will automatically cause a reduction in various funds, and in a month or two some enterprises will simply go bust.

Latvian Printing Plant Resumes Operations

LD0901160491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The printing plant of the Latvian publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee resumed work on 8 January. All the central papers received by fax were run off. They were the first central papers that the inhabitants of Latvia have received since the new year.

Estonia's Savisaar: Conscription Cannot Be Met

LD0901175791 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar has said neither Estonia nor other Baltic republics can meet the military demands to complete conscription for the Soviet Armed Forces in the next few days.

He argued that the conservative forces in the USSR have been trying to use the draft as a pretext to suppress the national movements in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Edgar Savisaar revealed that the republic's leadership has sent a telegram to the USSR with a request to hold a meeting.

Police Ordered Not To Obstruct Army

LD0901233191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 9 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Estonian Minister of Internal Affairs Lanjarv has given the police instructions not to obstruct the activity of the army.

Youths 'To Pay' for Noncompliance

LD1001001591 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn January 9 TASS—January 13 can become a black Monday for several thousand Estonian young people, who did not report at call-up stations last year.

Many of them and their parents hoped for a unilateral cancellation in the Baltic republic of the Soviet law on universal military service and the republican law on alternative labour service.

The Soviet Armed Forces were short of several thousand draftees from Estonia during spring and autumn call-up campaigns in 1990.

Recently, Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov ordered the use of force to mobilise them and sent additional troops to the republic to ensure the call-up. The implementation of the order was suspended until January 13.

Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar believes that the call-up by force endangers first and foremost those young people who evaded both army service and labour conscription. He said 8,000 young people in the republic are protected by the Estonian law on alternative service. Nevertheless, the republican government hastened to release them on a "winter leave".

According to Estonia's military commissar Major-General Rein Pyder said some young people simply tried to evade military service. Although Pyder is interested in implementing call-up plans, he believes the use of force contradicts the defence doctrine and has nothing to do with army functions.

Chairman of the Estonian parliament's Defence Commission Rein Tamme called sending a paratrooper regiment to Estonia a "provocation". At the same time, he recommended the republic's population not to resort to the use of force for resistance and refrain from pickets and rallies. Republican Foreign Minister Olev Laanjarv ordered police not to resist army actions.

If a political solution is not reached during today's meeting between Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Soviet Defence Minister Yazov or at other talks and consultations in the near future, some parliamentarians believe that young people will have to pay for actions contradicting the Soviet Constitution, while the parliament will bear only moral responsibility.

Savisaar-Yazov Meeting Results Not Reported

LD0901225291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] A meeting was planned for 9 January between Prime Minister Savisaar of Estonia, and USSR Minister of Defense Yazov. We still do not have any news about its results.

Baltic Council Protests USSR Military Measures

LD1001023391 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The Baltic Council has lodged a protest against new actions by the USSR Armed Forces. Yesterday, making use of telephone and post communications, its meeting took place. It adopted a statement signed by the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The statement warns that the actions by additional military units might provoke violence because the servicemen have been granted extensive authorizations by their leadership to use force. Such actions mean rapid destabilization of the political situation for a prolonged period of time, states the document.

It is also reported that the Baltic Council has reason to believe new actions by the Soviet Army and the hunting of young people have other aims—to suppress the striving for independence by the Baltic nations.

The Baltic Council has appealed to the world public, to the parliaments and governments of all countries, asking them to take a stand against the action of the USSR Armed Forces, which has already begun.

RSFSR

Russia To Contribute 80 Billion Rubles to Union

LD0901162791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1246 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Judging by information we have received, the leadership of the Union and republics has resolved the most controversial issues which stood in the way of adopting the all-Union budget and economic plan for 1991. [passage omitted]

According to INTERFAX, Russia's Union budget quota will amount to approximately 80 billion rubles [R]—significantly higher than the R23 billion the Russian parliament was supposed to have handed over for the center to administer, but, at the same time, it is tangibly lower than R140 billion—the sum Russia used to give to the Union budget every year.

Yeltsin Reviews Gorbachev Talks

LD0901161291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1417 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov on 9 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] As has been reported, USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin yesterday signed an economic agreement removing the disagreements on financial questions between Russia and the Union. Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin gave an interview to our correspondent Andrey Nikiforov:

[Nikiforov] Boris Nikolayevich, there has been much talk about your meeting yesterday with the country's president, but unfortunately there is not an awful lot of objective information. At the Supreme Soviet session today, Gosplan Chairman Maslyukov described your meeting yesterday as something like a breakthrough in relations between Russia and the Union. He said it was possible to reach a correlation, a very sensible correlation, between the competence of the Union and that of the republic. What can you add to that?

[Yeltsin] It was not an easy meeting. Perhaps the first half could even be described as very tricky, as each was sticking to his position. But then we began to look for ways of closing the gap, given that if Russia does not sign this agreement, the agreement loses its sense. I can put it like this: that eventually we began to look for a mechanism that would still allow the budgets to work together, a mechanism that would on no account infringe upon the law we had adopted. No, that should not happen! Indeed it has remained inviolate. It will be possible to tell the Supreme Soviet of Russia that the law has been defended.

But at the same time we were seeking ways, even so, for forming the Union budget. On this—first just the two of us, and then with the participation of Finance Minister Pavlov and First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Skokov—certain ways began to be found, and in the end we found them. There should be no talk of this being at Russia's expense—not at all. But neither should one be talking of someone have won and someone having lost. That is not how I would put it. I would say that it was a very constructive conversation, and one could sense a commitment to Russia all the same having a real budget. For the first time it does have a real budget, one which can be implemented, and perhaps even overimplemented, on the revenue side. That, of course, is a very good thing. We are now able to allocate considerably greater funds to social needs than we used to in the past. We are now able to back up the program we discussed at the Congress of People's Deputies on agrarian issues, social development of the countryside, and food—to back that up with finance and with what might be termed a whole material base. So I feel that when all is said and done, such a conversation was needed.

[Nikiforov] You speak very optimistically, Boris Nikolayevich—perhaps it is the first time recently you have had anything so optimistic to say.

[Yeltsin] Frankly speaking, I went into this with the feeling that it would not be possible to find a compromise, that we would be offered a solution that was not to our liking, and that Russia would then not sign the economic agreement. But at the same time I was imagining what the reality would be if Russia were not to sign

the economic agreement. That would, of course, be a very serious step toward the collapse of the Union—one which we cannot permit.

RSFSR Official on Draft USSR Military Budget

LD1001141491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Interview with Vladimir Lopatin, acting first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Public Security and Interaction with the USSR Ministry of Defense and the KGB of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, by Andrey Zuyev, in the Kremlin on 10 January—live or recorded]

[Text] An important event took place at the USSR Supreme Soviet today. As I have already said, the law on the Union budget was adopted as a whole there, at last. Over to our parliamentary correspondent Andrey Zuyev, who is in the Kremlin. He will give you the latest information.

[Zuyev] Indeed, the law on the Union budget for 1991 has been adopted as a whole. I will recall only that this budget has a deficit of more than 26 billion rubles. That is, expenditure will exceed revenue by this amount. Now an article-by-article discussion is under way. The military article of the budget has given rise to many arguments among deputies. This problem is of special interest to all of us. That is why I have invited Vladimir Nikolayevich Lopatin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Public Security and Interaction with the USSR Ministry of Defense and the KGB, to speak to us. Vladimir Nikolayevich, the figure for military expenditure exceeds 96 billion in the budget. But some say that this figure is lower than the true figure, which is in fact double or even triple the one that has been given.

[Lopatin] Indeed, today it does not reflect the real level of military expenditure and causes serious alarm among many deputies as regards voting. But I would like to introduce two clarifications before examining the issue. The first clarification is that I am an acting first deputy, and the second clarification relates to the paradox contained in your words to the effect that the law was adopted as a whole and now an article-by-article discussion is under way. This is the first reason why one cannot agree with what is taking place at the Union parliament today. First a law is adopted as a whole and then individual articles are adopted. This is nonsense and violates the standing orders and the existing law. Nevertheless, this is a fact.

[Zuyev] Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov] himself proposed this.

[Lopatin] Yes, he proposed yet again to breach the standing orders of the congress of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the newly elected parliament easily agreed to such an approach. This is the first reason why one cannot agree with the draft that has been submitted, I repeat, in terms of procedure.

The second reason concerns the level of expenditure. The figure is obviously low and does not correspond to reality. Here there are arguments supporting this statement. In fact, the figure reflects only the expenditure of the Ministry of Defense. Expenditure for other armed formations, railways, and military construction units are not taken into account in it. But these are weighty items. Where are they? The military department includes these military formations within the system of the country's defense. At the same time, expenditure for them is not taken into account here. Also, the outgoings of other ministries, departments, organizations, enterprises, and local bodies used in the interests of USSR defense are not taken into account here. For example, expenses related to ensuring the mobilization training of enterprises, payments of monthly average salaries to personnel of enterprises, institutions and organizations for the period of their participation in military training, the output they fail to produce during this period, their gratuity on discharge during call-up for regular service—all this is paid and compensated for by enterprises themselves in the interests of defense. This is not taken into account here. The payment for and financing of military training at schools, technical schools, and vocational schools, the upkeep of the relevant departments in higher educational establishments, and so on are at the expense of the Ministries of Education. Are they in the interests of defense? Yes, they are, but they are not taken into account here. The allocation of apartments to servicemen, the partial payment of pensions to them by local soviets, their exemption from paying taxes, and so on must be taken into account in the budget of the Ministry of Defense and compensation to be made to local budgets. This list can be continued. It has been named, it contains more than 10 articles of hidden military expenses, it has been compiled with the participation of representatives from the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finances, and the USSR Ministry of Defense but, unfortunately, these articles have not been taken into account here.

Why is it increasing? We seem to have reduced the budget here, from 77 billion to 63 billion. But why, despite a real reduction in military expenditure, do we see the figure of 96.6 billion? A lion's share in the increase is prompted by a growth of purchase prices for technology and armaments. Why are these prices rising in our country? In the view of the state committee—we have discussed this problem in the Russian Federation—prices have started rising because, in order to maintain its subsistence wage in the approaching market, in order to survive, the military industry has to come closer to real prices for military hardware. After all, they are very low in our country today. Where we spend one ruble, the Americans spend from $6 to $14 on the same equipment. Our ruble turns into gold in the military industry. If one carries out a further computation, prices may

increase from five to eight times as we approach the real ones. This implies that a real military budget and real military expenditure, in general, will continue to increase about 2.5-3 times. That is, the figure given today is not a definitive one.

There is a third reason why we cannot agree with the draft military expenditure that has been submitted. This is connected with the proposed structure of this military expenditure. It has been proposed to spend 40 percent again on purchasing technology and armaments. If one takes into account the fact that prices will continue to rise, this share of military expenditure will increase further. At the same time, less than a third is spent on the upkeep of Army and Navy personnel today, whereas in civilized countries the proportions are the other way around. That is why we are coming out today in favor of the redistribution of funds from purchases of hardware and armaments towards social programs for servicemen. On 6 December I made a proposal as a legislative initiative to divert 5 billion rubles from the purchase of hardware and armament at 1990 prices toward social programs for servicemen; that is, toward compensation for inflation to officers and warrant officers and for travels during annual leave from the place of regular service.

[Zuyev] Thank you, Vladimir Nikolayevich.

Yeltsin Comments on Cooperation With Japan

LD0901172891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Russia is prepared to cooperate with Japan directly, without waiting for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Japan and the USSR, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told visiting Japanese parliamentarians in Moscow today.

The signing of a peace treaty is a key obstacle in bilateral relations, Yeltsin said.

He hopes President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan in April will be the first step toward settling this problem.

Direct contracts between Russia and Japan will impart dynamism to cooperation in all spheres between the two countries, he said.

The growing independence of Union republics will increase their role, including in foreign economic activities, he said.

Yeltsin told Japanese parliamentarians about his meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday, saying that an economic agreement, regulating budgetary relations between the Union and the republic for 1991, was signed.

The Russian sovereignty will be respected and our budget will be accepted, Yeltsin stressed. He continued: We could make a direct peace treaty with Japan, without waiting for one to be completed with the USSR. Such a step would not infringe the authority of the USSR president, but be part of the continuing process of increasing republics' sovereignty, whose role in formulating foreign policy is constantly growing.

In his reply, Japan's House of Councillors Speaker Yoshihiko Tsutiya said that during his previous visit to the Soviet Union he had one-sided dialogues with Soviet partners when representatives of both countries only stated their own opinions.

His current meeting with the Russian president revealed understanding, he said.

I believe we have to bring our views closer together in economic and trade issues, he said.

Democratic Union Members Discuss 'Repressions'

LD0901164691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1205 GMT on 9 January broadcasts an eight-minute phone-in discussion between members of the coordinating council of the Democratic Union and political scientists. As part of the program, an unidentified listener calls in to ask: "Why is Valeriya Novodvorskaya not here? Has the KGB arrested her on the way to the studio?"

Political scientist Igor Dyumin says that he did indeed telephone and invite her, but Viktor Kuzin, chairman of Moscow Soviet subcommission for protection of citizens' rights, and a Democratic Union party member, explains: "I should reassure listeners that Valeriya Ilinichna has not yet been arrested by the KGB. Valeriya Ilinichna did not come here because, as always, she would not be able to prevent herself from speaking the truth about the CPSU general secretary. According to the conditions stipulated by the broadcasting bosses, this should not happen. That is the reason she has not come."

Kuzin goes on to say that "incidentally, as we have touched on the topic of repressions, we should say this—which, by the way, will be in answer to the question of what the Democratic Union is currently in opposition to, as its entire program would seem to have been virtually realized, as some of the people we talk to on the air assert. Nothing of the sort! The Democratic Union program has not been realized, unfortunately. The fact that we are on the air today does not really indicate much, either; it indicates, rather, some very delicate tactics in maneuvering and attracting the public attention of democratic forces in the West, and its sympathy toward the regime, by these very means. Because alongside the fact that I am here, broadcasting to you over the air, at the very same time Soviet occupation troops have invaded the territory of the Baltic states, and at the very same time a political trial is under way in Tver involving (Tamara Tselikova). This is a political trial in which Communists are putting on trial a member of the Democratic Union, because there are as yet no non-party judges in Tver. They are putting her on

trial in such a way that without any evidence of guilt whatsoever, for any crime committed, it seems she will nevertheless be sentenced."

Dyumin adds evidence of people being rounded up for handing out leaflets on Pushkin Square, on the orders of Gromov, the present first deputy USSR minister of internal affairs. Even in Moscow the Moscow Soviet is not the boss, Kuzin adds: "It is imperial structures and imperial vice-regents who are the bosses here."

The mediator, Igor Vasilkov, intervenes at this point: "Thank you. I would just like to point out that there is a sort of accord—laws exist, laws which the state All-Russian Teleradio Company respects, and will continue to respect, come what may. The law on respecting the honor and dignity of the USSR president is indivisible for us—as for you, too, I hope. Therefore what sort of accord can there be here? We pursue one line alone: to respect the laws the country in which we live. The Democratic Union party is, I think, a party of respectable people who will also respect the laws of the country in which they live."

The discussion participants make no comment on this, and go on to discuss various concepts of radicalism and the Democratic Union members' relations with other prominent politicians.

Gas Masks Being Sold to 'Unknown' Country

PM0901085591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by S. Shevtsov under the rubric: "Glaringly Obvious": "'Secret' Gas Masks"]

[Text] On 28 December, an excited reader phoned the editorial office: "Truckloads of gas masks are arriving here in Zhukovskiy all the time. What has happened...?"

Gas masks, of course, are not tanks or missiles, but defense is no trivial matter, so we decided to waste no time and immediately set off to that pleasant town in the Moscow suburbs to check out this "hot" news item on the spot. Once there we made straight for city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] chairman R. Ovsyannikov. Indeed, Robert Nikolayevich said, there is a real foundation to these rumors: Yesterday D. Novikov, general managing director of the "Rossiyskiy Dom" industrial commercial joint-stock company, and Colonel V. Anisimov, chief of a department at the Russian civil defense headquarters, came to the gorispolkom and stated that "the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has issued an order to dispatch gas masks from the reserve stocks (people taking part in the unloading work estimated there were about 300 tonnes of them)." One planeload has already left. What was its destination? The gorispolkom chairman does not know and has seen no documents on this matter.

Some unloaded KamAZ trucks which had arrived from various Russian oblasts were standing in front of the gates of the closed establishment, which we were not allowed to enter. We talked with V. Kuvakin and S. Telegin, drivers from Ivanov.

"Our job was to bring the load here, which we did," Kuvakin said.

"The trucks stood in front of the gates all night, we slept in our cabs," Telegin went on. "There was a huge tailback of trucks, there must have been 200. They say that there has been a constant stream of them arriving for four days now...."

The crowd at the gates could not answer our questions. At the gorispolkom we had meetings with N. Novikov and Colonel V. Anisimov and asked them to comment on what is happening.

"The fact is that a commercial order has been received from certain Arab countries in the Middle East which could find themselves caught up willy-nilly in the aftermath of a conflict in the Persian Gulf," Novikov explained. "They asked us (through an intermediary) to sell them some gas masks for the protection of the civilian population. The money for the masks will be used to buy food, medicines, and consumer goods."

"Which countries in particular are going to receive the cargo?"

"I am not authorized to say."

"Can there really be such secrecy here? Who can explain?"

"I cannot tell you that either. I can only state with firm confidence that the gas masks are not going to Iraq."

Col Anisimov did know the recipients either. Vitaliy Ivanovich had simply "received an order from the RSFSR Council of Ministers" and set to work. He explained that the order was for GP-5 gas masks designed to protect a civilian population in the event of war—not environmental disasters, as some people are trying to maintain.

The officer also assured us that if, God forbid, a disaster occurs in our country gas masks for our women and children will be found to replace those sold.

Generally speaking then, there is nothing to kick up a stink about here: Indeed, it makes more sense to sell the old gas masks than to burn them (you do not even need to be the director of the commercial company which has gotten "nothing but a headache" from this deal to understand that fact, of course). But why then is there such a high fence keeping the recipients of our gas masks hidden from people's gaze? After all, you cannot fob off persistent and alarmed readers by citing the interests of commercial secrecy alone: The question is somewhat delicate, even one of principle.

Iraq, our former friend, is of course the aggressor and therefore the protective devices are not bound for Iraqi women and children. But Israel, for example, has not ceased to be an aggressor despite a perceptible improvement in relations between it and our country. Or perhaps we are missing the point here?

Remember that in September last year G. Yavlinskiy answered these questions at a meeting between the RSFSR Government and military servicemen. Roughly what he said was this: I personally know who our likely enemy is and who is our ally today but who may be our enemy tomorrow. But that is a matter of strategic secrecy.

The audience applauded; the answer went down well.

But it is more complex for the general reader, who is not initiated into strategic secrets. Generally speaking he cannot comprehend why organizations which have nothing to do with those gas masks are suddenly allowing their premises to be used as a storage depot and are engaging in the shipment and sale of gas masks to unknown customers.

Yazov Visits Severodvinsk Plant

LD0901230991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] According to the PRAVDA SEVERA [PRAVDA of the North] newspaper, USSR Defense Minister paid a short visit to Severodvinsk. Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the USSR Navy; Belousov, minister of defense industry; Koksanov, minister of Shipbuilding Industry; and Konovalov, Minister of Automic Power Engineering Industry, also took part in this trip. They visited the Northern Machinery Construction Enterprise and the Northern Production Amalgamation. The guests inspected workshops at the Northern Machinery Construction Enterprise. They were shown unique technological equipment and ships which are being constructed. Ministers met with the crew of a nuclear submarine, had a tour around a local museum, and had a talk with the heads and leading specialists of the white sea region.

Moscow City Council Restructuring

LD0901202491 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The Moscow City Council endorsed a new structure of its executive today.

Several councillors called for a radical reshuffle of the old executive, saying that officials associated with the command administrative system should give way to reformers.

Asked why the council was dragging its feet on major decisions, Reverend Aleksandr Borisov said lawmakers have no experience in parliamentary debate. He also spoke about the lack of a coherent multi-party system.

He said the city probably does not need a 500-strong council, but a leaner body that could tackle problems quicker.

The council was able to resolve only four minor issues in the as many weeks of work.

Armenian Conscripts Protest in Southern Urals

LD1001091591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0757 GMT 10 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk, 10 Jan (TASS)—The officers of one of the military units situated near the town of Zlatoust (the southern Urals), employed a great deal of patience and tact to settle a conflict that had arisen here without using force. Some 72 conscripts of Armenian nationality, expressing their discontent with being sent to serve far from their native land, left their unit without authorization and went to the station, where they took over a carriage of an electric train. In reply to the demands of their commanders to return to their place of service, the conscripts expressed their disobedience. Only after the officers made clear to the new recruits the illegality of their actions from the point of view of existing legislation, and gave them a written undertaking to examine their demands, did the Armenian youths return to their units.

Minsk Train Crash Results in Sulfuric Acid Spill

PM1001092191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Report by A. Zhuk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An accident occurred today in the region of the Minsk-Sortirovochnaya Station. It resulted in damage to a car carrying sulfuric acid. Our correspondent has the details.

[Zhuk] The Central TV correspondent's office in Belorussia has received very many phone calls today. People are concerned. They are asking what happened. Some even thought that a radioactive cloud was headed for Minsk in the region of the "Integral" Production Association. The accident happened here at the freight station.

[A.P. Derevshchikov, deputy chief of the Minsk Civil Defense Headquarters] During a switching maneuver—and I think it may have been the result of a violation of technical procedure—a car containing sulfuric acid was being shunted out of the hump yard and was hit by another car. The sulfuric acid leaked out and was deposited along about a 50-meter stretch of track.

[Zhuk] What about the neutralization of the acid fumes? Is lime being used to neutralize them?

[Derevshchikov] It is the neutralization that produces the cloud. But the cloud itself is already...

[Zhuk, interrupting] ...evaporating.

[Derevshchikov] This concentration poses no danger to residents.

Siberian Rail Section Reopens After Accident

LD0901203591 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude January 9 TASS—It took more than 24 hours to fully restore traffic on the Buryat section of the Trans-Siberian Railway, halted after an accident on the Taltsy-Onokh section.

On the night of January 8 a freight train jumped the rails. Seventeen tankers with diesel fuel burned out, destroying 300 metres of rails. Civil defence units and Trans-Baikal Military District forces helped fight the fire, clear the debris, and rebuild the track.

The first trains passed through the section today.

According to initial data, a faulty rail caused the derailment.

Western Republics

Gagauz Leaders Decide To Retain Supreme Soviet

LD0901195791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRES-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 9 Jan (TASS)—The leadership of the Gagauz Republic, which was proclaimed unconstitutionally in the south of Moldova, has decided not to dissolve the Supreme Soviet of that state formation.

In a telephone interview, Stepan Topal, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic, told MOLDOVA-PRES correspondents that "such a decision has been adopted in connection with the fact that the parliament of the Moldovan SSR, based on its decision 'On the USSR presidential decree of 22 December 1990,' does not intend to fulfill all the points of Mikhail Gorbachev's decree. This relates primarily to changing the assessment of the decision of the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet of 23 June 1990 'On the conclusion of the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet commission on the political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty and the secret additional protocol of 23 August 1939, as well as their consequences for Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina,'" Stepan Topal stressed.

In the adopted decision the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic decided "to appeal to the peoples and bodies of state authority of the USSR as the legal successor of the Russian state which returned the Gagauzes two centuries ago to the primordial lands of their ancestors, to undertake effective measures to protect its legitimate interests in modern conditions."

The document also expresses a request to the bodies of state authority and administration of the Ukrainian SSR, as the nearest neighbor of the Gagauzes, to resolve the matter of the possibility of including the Gagauz Republic in a single market of socio-economic activity.

Moldovan, Kirghiz Parliaments Debate Budget

LD0501220691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] The legislatures of Moldova and Kyrgyzstan today debated budget problems. Deputy Shevchenko says that the recently passed law of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic on the budget system states: "The republic can form the budgets of unions of sovereign states in accordance with concluded treaties." The basic principles for drawing up the 1991 budget have been, in the main, approved by the Moldova Supreme Soviet, which has also instructed the government to prepare, within a month, a program to balance the budget. It is provisionally proposed to transfer to the Union budget 25 percent of the tax on profits of all enterprises of Union or republican subordination.

Belorussian Literary Journal Offices Ransacked

PM0801115791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 p 1

[Report by A. Goncharov under "Telephone News Exchange 257-26-26" rubric: "Vandalism, or a Search?"]

[Text] Minsk—Arriving at work yesterday morning, journalists of the LITARATURA I MASTATSTVA newspaper discovered a trail of havoc at their offices. After smashing a window unknown criminals got into the editorial office and emptied the contents of the desks onto the floor. In doing so, strange as it may seem, not one of the scarce telephones was cut out and the typewriters remained intact...

Similar vandalism, which had the look of a search, was discovered at two other editorial offices of Belorussian Writers Union publications—the journals POLYMYA and NEMAN.

Donetsk Miners React to Increased Coal Prices

LD1001002391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday we broadcast a report to the effect that the Donetsk Oblast mines will not halt the dispatch of

coal from 10 January. From the representatives of the workers' committees of the Ukraine's miners' collectives we received a telegram today which explains that such a decision by the miners was made not against the will of the general directors, as was said in the TASS information broadcast by us, but in connection with the announcement by Gladush, deputy chairman of the Ukraine Council of Ministers, that the price for coal was being increased 2.2 times, as compared with the fourth quarter of last year.

Further, it says in the telegram that the regional union of Donbass strike committees insists on continuing talks with the Ukraine Government on satisfying other demands by the miners.

Lvov Communists Under 'Blatant Attack'

PM0901163991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Attacks on Communist Party"]

[Text] Lvov, 8 Jan—Lately there has been a spate of blatant attacks on the Communist Party in the Lvov region—and not only by demonstrators. Some soviets of people's deputies are adopting resolutions which contravene both existing legislation and common sense.

Thus, the presidium of the Stryy Combined Soviet of People's Deputies adopted a decision prohibiting leaders of enterprises and organizations from belonging to any party. Although this document contravenes Article 49 of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights, it is taking effect. The soviet is putting blatant pressure on Communists, some of whom, unable to withstand it, have cancelled their CPSU membership. They are the principals of a school and a vocational and technical college, chairmen of cooperatives (formerly kolkhozes [collective farms]), leading specialists, and leaders of agro-industrial complexes and industrial enterprises. The interesting point is that leaders who managed to become members of other parties are not being subjected to pressure from soviets.

This can be observed not only in Stryy, Drogobych, and other areas, but also in the oblast center. Specifically, a few days ago the city's electronic communications production and technical center cut off the telephones of the Ukrainian Communist Party city committee and of all its rayon committees, implementing a decision by a session of Lvov City Soviet of People's Deputies and an instruction from the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] chairman.

Communists regard such actions by leaders of soviets of people's deputies as a blatant attack on the party and the desire to stifle it, even by official organs' decisions. But do the new authorities have enough power to do this? Will the people support them? It is doubtful. This is confirmed by the wave of protest which can be observed in the region.

Ukrainian Officer Corps Envisaged

91UN0642A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Bilan and Major S. Anisko in the column "Who Is Who": " 'They Got Enough Bread To Eat Under the Germans...'"]

[Text] **Fifteen different parties (for the most part united by the ideas of Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka]), along with the Communist Party of the Ukraine, have been registered and operate in the Ukraine at present. The URP (Ukrainian Republican Party) is the most active, most anticommunist-minded, and organizationally the strongest. It is headed by Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputy L. Lukyanenko. The URP is the first party in the Ukraine that appeared after the official recognition of a multiparty system in the country.**

Levko Grigoryevich Lukyanenko graduated from the department of law at Moscow State University, and subsequently worked as a staff propagandist of a rayon committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. He was a CPSU member. As he explained in one of his presentations in the press, until 1957 his positions were, so to speak, Mazepa-like. He planned to become a prominent official and intended to do good for the Ukrainian people from the height of his official position. This idea occurred to him as he was in service in the territory of Austria. He was drafted into the Soviet Army in 1944. In particular, he served in Kiev. As he says, he was sent to Austria in the fall of 1945, where he became convinced in four years that people lived better on worse lands. This is when he decided that he would fight for the independence of the Ukraine.

In 1957, he reconsidered his decision, and embarked on the path of an underground struggle.

Lukyanenko has drawn stiff punishment several times. He has spent a total of 27 years in prison.

The URP, headed by Lukyanenko, numbers approximately 5,500 members in its ranks. It emerged from the group for fostering the fulfillment of the Helsinki Accords, which at its April 1990, congress transformed itself into the Ukrainian Republican Party. The URP sets two main tasks: First, to expand human rights in the Ukraine to the degree provided for in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations; second, to form an independent Ukrainian state.

Fighting the CPSU is one of the goals of the URP. Lukyanenko believes that perestroyka and the process of

democratization will be hampered as long as the Communists control executive power in the Ukraine. However, if the Communist Party of the Ukraine manages to become independent and not a branch of the CPSU, the URP may stand next to it and compete with it for the best program.

The URP is a vigorous proponent of creating a Ukrainian national army, proceeding from the thesis that an independent state should have its own armed forces. This is how the URP chairman sets forth the stages of their creation. The first step is for the segment of Soviet Army servicemen consisting of Ukrainians to serve only in the territory of the Ukraine. Subsequently, the officer corps will be reformed so that all the Ukrainians who so wish will be able to serve in the Ukraine. The officer corps should graduate from the school of Ukrainization and learn to use Ukrainian military terminology.

The Ukrainization of language in which all mutual relations between servicemen transpire will be the second step.

The final step: When the Ukraine becomes fully independent, the army created will be the basis for its armed forces.

To complete our short description of the URP and its chairman, we will cite an excerpt from a Munich newspaper that reprinted the autobiography of Lukyanenko. In the autobiography, Levko Grigoryevich said, among other things: "The people awaited it (the war) with alarm and great hopes—they very much hoped that the Germans would liberate the people from the Bolsheviks and, perhaps, the Ukraine from the Russians..."

On top of this, Lukyanenko stated on one occasion that the Ukrainians got enough bread to eat and felt good to a degree only under the Germans.

Just like that, neither more nor less.

Caucasus

Tskhinvali Mayor Urges Calm, Supports Decree

LD0901184391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the Georgian Supreme Soviet session has ended in Tbilisi. The deputies were negative in their attitude toward the USSR president's decree about certain legislative acts adopted in December 1990 in the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. In their view the president must not interfere in the internal affairs of the independent Georgian state. First Secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Margiani, who addressed the session, also criticized the president's decree.

Meanwhile, as a TASS correspondent was told at the Georgian Internal Affairs Ministry press center, unofficial talks between representatives of the Ossetian nationality and the Georgian militia have started in Tskhinvali.

Our correspondent Irina Tabulova in Vladikavkaz met (Inal Skholrebov), the chairman of the executive committee of the town of Tskhinvali.

[Begin recording] [(Skholrebov)] I have talked with leading officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Georgian Republic. They have agreed to peace talks. In order for these talks to take place, the town of Vladikavkaz was selected as the venue, both by the leadership of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Georgian Republic and us. The road from Tskhinvali to Dzhava has been blocked, disorderly firing is taking place, and there are injured along this road. In order not to subject either of the sides to a risk, to an ill-considered, unreasonable risk, it was decided to hold this meeting here. This meeting has taken place in a good, businesslike, and warm atmosphere. The representatives of both people do not want war. They want peace and friendship. That is my main aim. I have achieved this aim, and I believe that this is opportune.

The second thing is that our town, for about a month now, or more precisely 29 days, has been in a complete economic blockade. Not a single trainload of food or national economy freight is arriving at the Tskhinvali railway station. In order to maintain, somehow relatively, of course not completely, the life of the town, and its supply with necessary foodstuffs and also with necessary national economy freight, we are receiving them from here, from the Northern Caucasus. I spoke at rallies among young people, urging them not to do anything stupid, not to be led by their emotions, but to be guided only by reason, and that there must not be any unworthy behavior by men, irrespective of the severe tests which have befallen us, that they must retain their human aspect, because I am firmly convinced that the friendship which we have had for centuries will not be violated. Ninety percent and even more of the Georgians living together on the territory of Ossetia do not want these clashes. I have learned of facts when, during the severe blockade, from Georgian villages not even on the territory of Tskhinvali, food was brought at night and help was given to their nearest and dearest, because we live as one family, in fact we lived as one family.

[Tabulova] But this situation was complicated after the introduction of Georgian militia troops.

[(Skholrebov)] Yes, the introduction of Georgian militia troops did complicate, exacerbate things sharply.

[Tabulova] Could you tell me whether you see any way of stabilizing the situation now in Tskhinvali and in the south of Ossetia?

[(Skholrebov)] Yes, I see ways. The decree by the country's president was opportune and very necessary. I am convinced, I can guarantee that the people of South

Ossetia, the people of Tskhinvali, will absolutely fulfill the president's decree. My point of view is that the president's decree is very much needed by both peoples in order to stabilize the situation and in order for there to be peace and tranquillity on our land. [end recording]

Georgian Deputies Reject Decree

LD0901184991 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The Georgian parliament denounced today President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree aimed to calm tensions in southern Ossetia as "gross interference in Georgia's internal affairs and encroachment on its territorial integrity".

Southern Ossetia is an autonomous region in Georgia.

In his decree, Gorbachev declared the Georgian decision to abolish the South Ossetian autonomous region illegal. Gorbachev also repealed the decision of the South Ossetian regional council to declare the area "a Soviet democratic republic".

The Soviet president also ordered all armed units, including Georgian police, out of the troubled area, saying that only Soviet interior troops should remain there.

The Georgian parliament, meeting today to discuss the situation, virtually refused to withdraw Georgian police units from the area and reiterated the abolition of the South Ossetian autonomous region.

Georgian Communist Party leader Avtandil Margiani also criticised Gorbachev's decree.

Local residents in the Georgian cities of Tbilisi and Gori rallied to protest Gorbachev's decree, the newspaper IZVESTIYA reports in its evening issue today.

In Gori, where there is a large Ossetian community, 12 ethnic Ossetians began "a hunger strike to the death" to protest the decree.

Deputy interior troops commander General Vyacheslav Ponomarev said military authorities in the troubled area are doing everything possible to avert "conflicts" but the situation could not be defused unless Georgian police units are withdrawn. Reports indicated that the withdrawal has already begun.

"Gorbachev's decree concerns other armed units in Southern Ossetia as well. They are all illegal and should be withdrawn, disarmed and disbanded," the general said.

KGB, Ministries To Probe Armenian Shootings

LD0901210891 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 9 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Ziyadkhan Gasanov]

[Text] Baku January 9 TASS—A woman and three servicemen were shot dead today near Kaladeresi, an Armenian village in Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of Azerbaijan.

Salatyn Askerova, a 29-year-old correspondent of the republican Azerbaijani youth newspaper, was accompanied on a duty trip by Sergeant I. Goyek, Major I. Ivanov and Lieutenant-Colonel A. Illarionov, when their car was ambushed by Armenian fighters, an Azerbaijani Interior Ministry spokesman said.

Operative groups from the Soviet Interior Ministry and the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry and the KGB have arrived at the site to investigate the incident.

Askerova's colleagues said that on Tuesday night [Jan 8] she collected material about the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry's special police unit deployed on the border of Azerbaijan's Lachin District and Goris District of Armenia.

Askerova's last report will be published in her newspaper on Saturday together with an obituary notice. She has left a seven-year-old son, Dzheikhun.

Georgian Council of Ministers Raises Prices

LD0901231391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Jan (TASS)—The Georgian Council of Ministers has decided to increase retail prices for some products from 10 January.

This will relate, for instance, to wines and vodka products, the price of which will go up 60-100 percent. The resolution of the republican Council of Ministers will also hit smokers' pockets—the price of tobacco products will go up 2.5-fold. Tea and tea products are also doubling in price.

Armenia Energy Shortage Affects TV Broadcasts

NC0801114291 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Commentary by Amasya Ovanesyan: "An Energy Crisis Is Being Imposed on Armenia"]

[Text] Armenia is facing a grave fuel and energy shortage in these severe winter days. The union supplies of petroleum products have been drastically reduced. A clearer picture of the situation will emerge if we remember that the lion's share of the natural gas sent from Russia to Armenia is being expropriated by Azerbaijan simply because the pipeline crosses its territory.

According to official data, if the situation is not speedily remedied Armenian thermal power stations will be left with only two or three days' worth of fuel stock.

Judging from the reports from Soviet news agencies, there is also a fuel and energy crisis in those regions that have large amounts of oil. This may be the consequence

of the general power paralysis existing in the Union administrative chain. It cannot be ruled out, however, that this may be a lever to exert economic pressure designed by the Kremlin to save the tottering Soviet Union from final collapse.

Whatever the reasons for this shortage, the Armenian Government is at present taking measures to surmount the existing difficulties. In recent days the Armenian Council of Ministers discussed various options to alleviate the situation. A proposal was made to the Council of Ministers that operations be resumed at the hydropower stations on the waterfall on Lake Sevan. These power stations were shut down a few years ago to maintain the lake's water level. The government deemed it inappropriate to reduce the lake's water level, however, and instead opted for an alternative plan that calls for introducing a drastic and extraordinary energy-saving regime, hoping that the population will show understanding and act responsibly. A number of energy-intensive factories will most probably be shut down temporarily. Gas supplies to enterprises and cooperatives may be cut. As of today, the transmission time of Armenian television is being substantially reduced. For the time being, broadcasts will be between 2030 to 2230. There will be [word indistinct] cuts in the power supplies to specific districts in the cities and to settlements.

In a word, the winter of 1991 will be difficult one fraught with [words indistinct] surprises for the so-called unshakable family of fraternal states. Yet another trial faces the Armenian people on their road to independence. Nevertheless, it is impossible to discourage a people who have a lofty aim and are unwaveringly advancing toward it.

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0400 GMT on 8 January reports that an expanded meeting of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers Presidium "discussed the critical situation prevailing in the republic's energy sphere." The meeting noted that "the power stations are working at half capacity because of the shortage of fuel and gas which are being received intermittently and in reduced amounts." The report adds: "For this reason the entire national economy has been put under a drastic energy-saving regime. Some enterprises are working at reduced capacity and some have been temporarily shut down. It appears, however, that even these measures are not sufficient." The radio reports that the meeting discussed many proposals but did not adopt any final decision. The Presidium "felt the proposals should be discussed comprehensively and in detail." A special commission was set up for this purpose and a final decision will be adopted only after it submits its recommendations.]

Central Asia

Chairman for Economy Appointed in Kazakhstan

LD0901203491 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0200 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] By the decree of Comrade Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, Comrade Kalyk Abdollayev has been appointed as chairman of the state committee for the economy of the Kazakh SSR, and has been included in the composition of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR.

Semipalatinsk Test Site Environment Study Planned

PM0801112191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Ye. Doroshenko: "Diagnosis for Test Range"]

[Text] A coordination conference of the country's scientific organizations which in 1991-1995 have to carry out a comprehensive study of the Semipalatinsk test range and adjacent regions was held recently at the Radium Institute named for V.G. Khlopin.

The program provides for a study of the full spectrum of possible radiation and ecological, medical and biological, and seismic consequences of nuclear explosions compared with the influence exerted on the environment and on man by natural factors and ecologically harmful technogenetic factors in modern production facilities.

The main avenues in the study will be headed by Doctors of Chemical Sciences A. Krivokhatskiy and Yu. Dubasov, Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Gorlov (USSR Health Ministry), and Doctor of technical Sciences A. Matushchenko. It is planned that a number of Kazakhstan's scientific organizations will take part in the work.

The results of the research will be brought to the notice of the broad public.

Kirghizia, Ukraine To Increase Cooperation

PM1001095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by A. Ryabushkin: "Joint Statement"]

[Text] Frunze—The text of a joint statement by President A. Akayev of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan [Kirghizia] and L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, has been published in the local press.

It emphasizes the need to further strengthen mutually advantageous political cooperation between the two sovereign states. The sides have arrived at an agreement that, guided by the declarations of sovereignty of Kyrghyzstan and the Ukraine, they will implement socioeconomic policy and the social and economic transformations based on it with a view to ensuring the well-being of both republics' peoples and their cultural and spiritual development.

Let us remind you that more than 100,000 Ukrainians live in Kyrghyzstan.

Tajik Ban on Hunger Strikes Criticized

PM0801133391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 p 2

[Report by K. Bayalinov, followed by A. Murtazayev commentary, under general headline "Eat—That's An Order"]

[Text] The Tajik parliament session has adopted a legislative act on liability for public hunger strikes. From now on, "public hunger strikes in streets, squares, and other public places...are punishable by imprisonment of up to two years, or a monetary fine from 1,000 to 5,000 rubles."

Some radically minded parliamentarians, perceiving the new legislative act as an attack by conservatives on democracy, walked out of a sitting of the session in protest.

In the opinion of several politicians, mass hunger strikes by students in Frunze during the republic's presidential elections had a substantial influence on deputies who sided with the democrats.

Our Commentary

In the United States it is forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages in public. For this reason, people who are very keen to drink under the noses of the "cops" wrap up bottles in paper. And the law does not allow citizens' property to be examined without the sanction of the public prosecutor.

The wave of democratism, it would appear, has reached Dushanbe. Now citizens of the republic are forbidden to go hungry in the streets and squares. If there is nothing edible in the stores and no means of buying anything at the market, citizens should wrap a fig in paper and act as if they are chewing something... After all, there is nothing in the legislative act to say whether it is possible to go without chewing for five minutes without it being treated as a public hunger strike.

In general, laws are adopted for the good of the people. But something tells me that this article of law is in no way permeated by concern for citizens. After all, it is somewhat safer to go hungry in public than at home.

And in Tajikistan the law that has been adopted simply drives hunger strikers into their apartments. Of course, some people may try to sell me the idea that this law protects young people from rash actions. After all, they are susceptible to outside influence, and "extremist elements" may simply play the "hunger card" in their political game. But then, I ask, why is self-immolation not banned by law?

It also seems to me that a ban on public hunger strikes is just as stupid as hunger strikes themselves.

Dushanbe Editor Fired Over Paper's Registration

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[Report by correspondent L. Makhkamov under the rubric "Well, Well!": "How the Newspaper Was Stolen"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Dushanbe Tajik Communist Party Gorkom [City Committee] and the city soviet have almost been left without their press organ—the newspaper PAYEMI DUSHANBE ("Dushanbe News"), published in the Tajik language.

Keeping it a secret from the founders, D. Egamov, the newspaper's editor, and...M. Ikramov, chairman of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee], applied to the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Goskompechat [State Committee for the Press] to register PAYEMI DUSHANBE as an independent publication. It is not without interest that the editor regarded as sufficient grounds for such a serious step his own opinion supported by a meeting of the editorial collective, while the gorispolkom chairman entirely on his own approved the editorial statute, i.e. he assumed the powers and responsibility of the founder, without even informing either the gorispolkom presidium or the leaders of the city soviet. Incidentally, they are both members of the party gorkom bureau.

The operation to capture the publication took just 48 hours. Goskompechat Chairman B. Makhmadov was amazingly prompt in registering the "new publication"—the registration certificate was issued the day the application was made. In their haste the usually meticulous officials "failed" to even notice that the "founders" had not managed to pay the obligatory monetary duty.

The main events of this affair, which is not yet over, developed as follows. PAYEMI DUSHANBE carried an appeal to its friends, which announced that the publication had abandoned its former bosses and become a "people's" publication. It also carried a photograph of the ceremonial presentation of the registration certificate, a facsimile of the certificate, and...the editorial collective's threat to declare a political hunger strike unless the gorkom agrees to their decision.

A session of the gorkom bureau was held, at which the newspaper's editor was dismissed from his post and expelled from the party.